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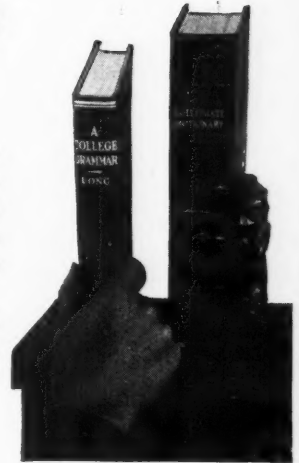
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BOOKS OF THE MONTH

An Attack on the American University

AMERICAN education has long been a favorite subject for bitter attack and acrimonious criticism; the latest assault, made by Abraham Flexner in his study, *Universities: American, English, German* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930. \$3.50), has brought forth denunciation from men of the universities, approbation from certain skeptics in the lay world, and approval mixed with dissent from those who refuse to excite themselves over a system which, with all its faults and virtues, seems with some degree of success to be meeting the needs of America.

The modern university, according to Dr. Flexner, should "address itself whole-heartedly and unreservedly to the advancement of knowledge, the study of problems, from whatever source they come, and the training of men—all at the highest level of possible effort." But after defining the aim of a university he limits it, excluding everything of a secondary, technical, vocational or popular nature in favor of science and scholarship. When this test is applied to the leading American universities, the result is rather disheartening. True, they do undertake "the study of problems, from whatever source they come," but unfortunately many of these problems are of a technical and vocational nature. Obviously here the author, whether he will admit it or not, is quibbling about terms. When he objects to some of the university schools of business administration, for instance, he is not on too solid ground. That sort of criticism belongs to the passing generation; the present has come to recognize the value of such institutions. On the other hand, few will disagree with Dr. Flexner's assertion that the universities are cluttered up with too many courses which are far removed from anything but vocational training, and that these courses,

however valuable in themselves, should never be counted toward an academic degree. Likewise, few will attempt to defend the vast growth of home study courses, which, in their present form, are certainly the wrong way of doing the right thing. These phases of the American university have been attacked before; if the present assault does nothing more than reawaken educational leaders to this weakness, it will not have been in vain.

But the tone of Dr. Flexner's study is too strident, too carping; it is not so much what he says but how he says it that arouses antagonism. This failing may easily weaken his case, obscuring at the same time his constructive suggestions and his infrequent compliments. Because the greatest portion of his work is devoted to American universities, one forgets that the institutions of both England and Germany are surveyed. On the whole, the universities of these two nations suffer less at the author's hands than do those of the United States; the German in particular come off very well. But, possibly as always, the furthest fields are greenest.

Somehow, when one arbitrarily sets up an ideal for the American university and then shows how far the university is from realizing

this ideal, there is a fundamental lack of understanding of the problem. American universities, whatever their faults—and they are many—are expressions of American needs and American hopes. Even today these institutions do lead the nation toward higher cultural and spiritual levels. Their roots are in American soil; to make them over according to a preconceived idea would in the end mean only shallow, artificial centres of learning that would not long survive the pressure of twentieth century America.

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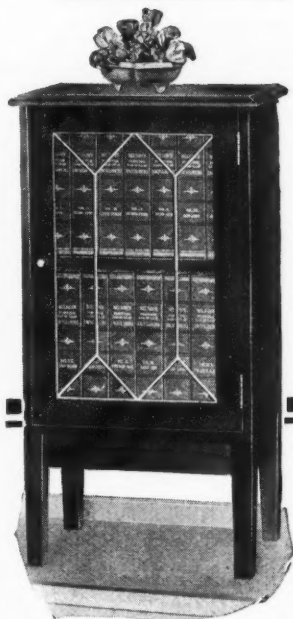
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scholarship in American universities will not be surprised that Dr. Flexner criticizes many of the theses produced by the American mind. There is a humorous, ridiculous angle to that classic of American scholarship, *A Time and Motion Comparison on Four Methods of Dish-Washing*; but all are not as bad as this one. The entire purpose of this sort of scholarship, particularly the Ph.D. dissertation, is generally misunderstood by the layman who throws up his hands in despair at the very word "dissertation." Essentially the writing of a dissertation is drill, practice in assembling material after research as well as practice in writing what is usually a scholar's first book. It may not be readable, it may not be brilliant, but to the writer himself the experience and training has probably been invaluable. This he may be able to turn to good account in his later career. Occasionally these studies are very worthwhile, even epoch-making contributions to the fields of scholarship. In American history, for example, it is the Ph.D. monograph which has done much to make possible the present interpretation of the growth of these United States.

Four recent monographs on American history come to mind: *Criminal Law in Colonial Virginia* (By Arthur P. Scott. Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1930); *Slavery Agitation in Virginia 1829-1832* (By Theodore M. Whitfield. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930); *The Eighteenth Century Sheriff* (By Cyrus H. Karraker. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1930), and *Church and State in Massachusetts 1740-1833* (By Jacob C. Meyer Jr. Cleveland: Western Reserve University Press, 1930). None of the four is likely to upset preconceived ideas of their phases of American history, but future historians of the particular period will be obliged to take notice of the conclusions reached. For instance, historians have long been aware that in 1829 or thereabouts, the possibility of the abolition of slavery in Virginia was very real. But this has never been definitely proved. Whitfield's study reviews the entire story of the anti-slavery agitation in that State, and shows very definitely that only the apathy of the General Assembly "clenched the grip of slavery on Virginia and made more certain her union with the States of the Confederacy." The study of the fight for religious liberty in Massachusetts brings at last into a handy volume the story of the growth of wider democracy in what, it is often forgotten, was an essentially undemocratic society. Massachusetts, founded by those seeking religious liberty, permitted little of that fundamental civil right until the colony had become a State and had passed the second

century of its history. So with the other monographs; they clear up some of the minutiae of history, a task which must be undertaken if history is to be written with any degree of sureness and breadth. E. FRANCIS BROWN.

Henry White

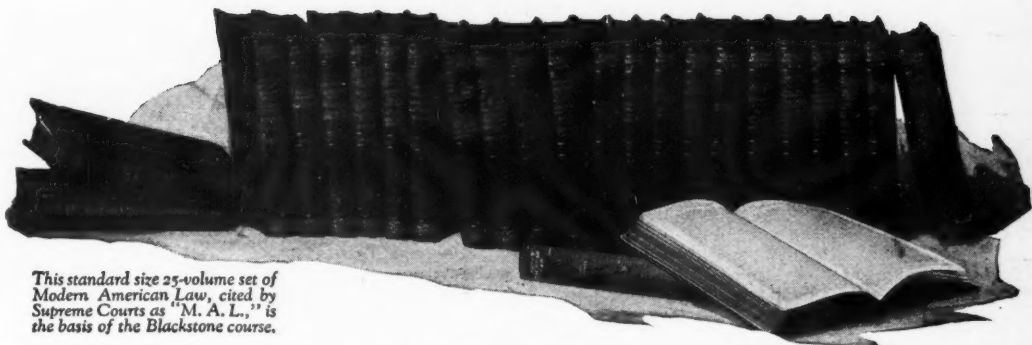
By RANDOLPH G. ADAMS

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HENRY WHITE: *Thirty Years of American Diplomacy*. By Allen Nevins. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930. Pp. xii, 518. \$5.

THIS is the story of the one Republican member of the American Peace Commission at Versailles in 1919. Yet, it is much more. But for Mr. Nevins's biography, White might well have gone into history merely as the man who was selected when Lodge, Root, Taft and Hughes were passed over. It is apparent that the Henry White Papers, now at the Library of Congress, were open to Mr. Nevins. This biographer might have issued a "Life and Letters," or "Selected Works" or some such other book which would have proved difficult reading. Instead he has written a connected story, which is packed with extracts from White's correspondence. Being a professional historian, Mr. Nevins has saved the future investigator a considerable amount of work by his selection of those portions of the White Papers about which the future historian will probably be most curious. Of course, no biographer is infallible in such matters, but it is with deep satisfaction that the serious investigator sees such a book as this turned out not by a professional psychologist, not by a neo-journalist who prefers cleverness and brilliancy to accuracy, but by one who can have some claim to knowing what is permanently significant.

Henry White's career embraces the last chapter of the Old World and its diplomacy, as they existed before 1914, and also includes that dramatic and chaotic prologue which ushered in the drama of the world in which we are all members of the audience. White's life story is that of a rich young man, with a carefully thought out education, all the opportunity in the world, an extremely fine character, very high principles, infinite tact and not enough political influence to enable these qualities to be used to their full in the service of his country. Although he did serve for short periods as the American Ambassador to Italy and to France, his greatest services were rendered as First Secretary of the American Legation at London, where he instructed and made social careers for men like Robert Todd Lincoln, E. J. Phelps, William A. Bayard, John Hay and Joseph Choate. It may puzzle Americans to think that such distinguished men needed such help, but they certainly did because it was not the successive Ministers and



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Ambassadors, but White who was on terms of intimate friendship with men like Salisbury, the Fifth Marquis of Lansdowne, Asquith, Balfour and Curzon. The services White rendered in connection with such delicate negotiations as the Venezuela affair, the Isthmian Canal diplomacy, the maintenance of the open door in China and the Alaskan Boundary dispute, are certainly set forth in a new light in Mr. Nevins's biography.

White's personal friendship and correspondence with the Republican leaders like Roosevelt, Root, Taft and Lodge gives the historian much to ponder, but if the Republican leaders thought White had retired, or had been retired by the Progressive split of 1912, they certainly reckoned without Woodrow Wilson.

Wilson saw in White the one Republican diplomat who understood what he (President Wilson) was trying to do. White will now go down in history as the single shining exception among that mass of Republican leaders who in 1919-20 put party politics above both national and world interest. Not that White approved of everything Wilson did, for he most strongly dissented from such injustices as the Tyrolean boundary. But it is likely that the historian of the future is going to lean heavily on Nevins's *White* when he comes to point out that opposition to Wilson was based not upon any understanding of the world situation, not upon an outraged sense of fairplay, not upon disgust with Europe's relapse into Metternichian diplomacy, not upon a feeling that Wilson was trying to behave like a Prime Minister who had lost his majority and was still trying to act as Prime Minister, but upon the underlying fact that jealousy was a predominant Republican emotion from 1912 to 1920. Fussy old gentlemen sitting in Union League Clubs in America never could and never would be able to reconcile themselves to the fact that at the greatest moment in world history the Presidential chair was occupied, not by one of the many second-rate mentalities whom the Republican party have so frequently considered worthy successors of Abraham Lincoln, but by a Democrat and the son of a Rebel. While this sentiment was dormant because of the split in the Republican ranks in 1912-14, and because of the tragedy of world conflict of 1914-18, it was reawakened with all the fury which marks the feelings of old men who are still singing *John Brown's Body* in the twentieth century. A few Republicans like Taft did manage to keep their heads, but the chronicler of the future will probably point to Henry White as the pre-eminent example of the Republican who did not let his personal feelings get the better of his judgment.

Mr. Nevins's book will probably serve the future investigator as a valuable source in placing Henry Cabot Lodge in his proper

niche. The correspondence between White and Lodge was that of two old friends who disagreed, and in that disagreement White preserved his dignity and kept his emotions under control, while Lodge marks himself as a sincere, bigoted demagogue. Mr. Nevins's interpretation is worth quoting: "Naturally, a man of narrow vision, strong national feeling, and weak in international instincts, Lodge had little perception of the vital need for the League, little sense of the unavoidability of compromise and give-and-take in Paris. * * * The old road had led to disaster. A new one must be found, and it would require courage, imagination and generosity." Lodge emerges from Mr. Nevins's book conspicuously lacking in the last two qualities. White had them both, and loyalty as well.

There is just one point in the book upon which one would really like a citation to chapter and verse: Did Taft really dismiss White from the post at Paris in 1909 because White had failed to get Taft tickets to a parliamentary debate in 1886?

[Replying to the reviewer's question above, Mr. Nevins writes:

"Dr. Adams asks for specific evidence to support my assertion as to President Taft's reasons for dismissing Mr. White. A good deal of it might be adduced. It will suffice, however, to quote from a long letter written by Senator Lodge to Henry White, dated Washington, July 6, 1909. In this letter Senator Lodge declares:

"'You have discovered the secret of your retirement which I shrank from explaining, as did Root, it seems so inconceivable. The exact story is this. It seems that when Taft went abroad on his wedding journey some twenty-five years ago you were secretary in London, and [you] having been with his father, he went to call upon you. He asked you to procure for him tickets to the House of Commons. You said that you had none or could not obtain them and sent him tickets to the royal mews. That is his whole story. He told it to Roosevelt, then to me, then to Root, and one night at a party to Constance [Lodge]. That was in December and in each and every case he said, "He made me very angry at the time. Now I don't care, and I am going to keep him." At Augusta in January he volunteered the same story to me again, and my mind was at ease and I wrote you as I did. Every one agreed with me and we all thought it settled. When he reached here in March the President became suspicious that all was not well, and when I saw him I saw the change. Then Aldrich and Root took hold most earnestly. But it was in vain, and he finally told Root decisively that you were to go in January. Then with a heavy heart I wrote you. What caused the change and who caused it I can only guess, and you

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can guess as well as I. I have no proofs and no doubts.'

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Germany Today and Tomorrow

By JONATHAN F. SCOTT

Department of History, New York University

GERMANY IN THE POST-WAR WORLD. By Erich Koch-Weser. Philadelphia: Dorrance & Co., 1930. \$2.

THE FUTURE OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE. Criticisms and Postulates. By General von Seeckt. Authorized Translation by Oakley Williams. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1930. \$2.50.

DARK clouds gathering on Germany's political horizon have focused anxious attention anew on that unhappy country. The development of events in Germany in the next few months or years, as Count Sforza recently remarked, "will be for the philosophical mind one of the most interesting features of post-war history." Two recent books on Germany's problems by former German Cabinet Ministers, Erich Koch-Weser and General

von Seeckt, have therefore an especial timeliness.

If German policy follows the path indicated by Koch-Weser there is little to fear from the Reich. Surveying the post-war world, he concludes that America will tend more and more to detach herself politically, economically and culturally from Europe. Russia, he believes, turning her face toward Asia, will contribute to Europe's growing political demoralization through bolshevism and rouse the colored races against Europeans. Great Britain's great task will be to lead the defense against the non-European races. Germany's function, he holds, is to be a bridge between East and West. She "must become neither England's mercenary in her battle against bolshevism nor Russia's accomplice against the Western powers. Germany must discover a political formula which makes her a desirable partner for the one as well as for the other."

Of Germany's post-war foreign policy thus far he thoroughly approves. He defends the government's course in abandoning passive resistance in the Ruhr, in accepting the Dawes plan, signing the Locarno pact, joining the League of Nations, and agreeing to the Young plan despite doubts of its ultimate feasibility. The Young plan, he argues, makes for stability, improves relations with the West and thus permits Germany to pay more attention to "the intolerable conditions in the East."

Refusal to pay reparations he considers thoroughly impractical. "Any one who, after a lost war, does not want to embark on a new war can do one thing only: adhere to a policy of understanding."

Continuation of the policy of understanding, however, does not mean meek submission. Germany should make every effort, he contends, to undo the injustices of the Treaty of Versailles, striving especially to rectify her eastern frontiers and to effect union with Austria. These ends she must attain, however, through international cooperation. She should cultivate friendly relations with France. She should extend her economic and cultural influence through Middle Europe, not seeking annexations, however, but strengthening good feeling. A Middle-European coalition might pave the way for a Pan-European understanding. He hopes for much from the League of Nations in revising the Versailles Treaty and restoring Germany to "freedom and equality."

The fundamental aims of German policy, according to von Seeckt, should be the development of national well-being and the restoration of Germany as a "Might State." For attaining these ends he formulates a political-philosophic basis. He tries to define the proper sphere of State action with relation to agriculture, industry and trade, the working classes, education, science, art, religion and humanitarian institutions. He seeks a golden mean between an excessive State socialism and a system of *laissez-faire* which might lead to economic exploitation, cultural decline and national weakness.

Certain critics have called von Seeckt's book militaristic. The reviewer finds little evidence for this contention. It is true that he believes in a staunch nationalism. He thinks that the army should be an especial care of the State. He argues for a firm foreign policy, the goal of which should be "the restoration of Germany as a Might State," and its chief immediate task to strive for revision of the Versailles Treaty. But he is no Hitler, no fire-eater. He advocates no refusal to pay reparations nor any other direct defiance of the powers that have shackled his country. The guise that the fight against the treaty will assume, he says, "depends on many and unstable premises," and therefore "to make proposals or give counsel for a fight of this nature is waste of time." Common sense, he believes, will gradually reveal to the world how unworkable the treaty is.

That Germany, unless she chooses to plunge into rash adventure sure to end in disaster, is compelled by the harsh treatment meted out to her since the war to travel a long, hard, humiliating road to recovery is painfully apparent from these two books. Koch-Weser says that in the policies he outlines there is

no attempt to be heroic, for he sees no possibility for a heroic policy for Germany. But there is a heroism of endurance as there is a heroism of daring. This heroism of endurance the Germans have shown since the war; and as Thackeray said in comparing Washington with Wolfe: "To endure is greater than to dare."

Lord Balfour's Autobiography

By ANGUS FLETCHER

RETROSPECT: An Unfinished Autobiography, 1848-1886.
By Arthur James Balfour. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Company, 1930. \$3.50.

LORD BALFOUR'S *Retrospect* is, for all its insufficiency, a welcome addition to our knowledge of this most interesting of the later Victorian statesmen. It is unfortunate that as an autobiography it is so far from complete, for it leaves us with an appetite whetted rather than appeased. The result is a book in which there is no proportion but which most fortunately is full of the humor, the clean irony and the sense of gayety which for so long delighted those who were privileged to know him.

The author, wantoning in his hopeless memory for events, people, places and dates, appears also to have refrained from keeping notes and memoranda wherewith to supply that deficiency when the inevitable biography came to be written. One almost gets the impression that it was more than the absence of good memory—that, if short, the distinguished gentleman was a master of indolence. But he was in no way penitent. Why, indeed, should he have been so, since his place in the society to which he was born was from every point of view assured from the beginning. Everything that good birth, an adequate fortune and a brilliant intellect could bring to the young man of fifty years ago was his. It was not necessary for any one so favored to endure the daily grind or to remember dates. More interesting is the speculation whether bad memory and indolence were not in reality a pose, especially when we remember that he was throughout his life a charmer. He seems to have been irresistible in society, to both men and women. During the war, when strong-minded ladies were taking an active part on committees, it is said he was a master hand in gently leading them to approve of courses contrary to their own strong-minded beliefs. It was undoubtedly this quality, no less than his intellectual power that led to his so frequent employment wherever reconciliation in foreign or domestic situations was required, especially to his selection to represent his country in the early adjustments between Great Britain and the United States which

became necessary on the latter's entry into the World War. One can see the impression of guilelessness which the halting memory, the apparent dislike for energetic effort would leave, and in the milieu thus created the skill of the negotiator would have the most favorable possible atmosphere.

One of the most interesting features of this autobiography is the relatively careful attention that is paid to the author's relations with the brilliant and forceful Lord Randolph Churchill, including the early days of the Fourth party, and to the genesis of Home Rule for Ireland in the mind of Mr. Gladstone. It seems clear that Balfour, or at any rate his chief, Lord Salisbury, had determined to resist the bid for leadership made by Lord Randolph. In these days we may be excused if we see in that resistance the inertia of Conservatism rather than resentment of his tactics in spite of the impression left by *Retrospect*. Whether Lord Randolph was inspired by the holy fire of democracy or not we can never know, for he died almost at the opening of his career, but there can be no doubt that Balfour was the chosen vessel of Conservatism and he at any rate appreciated that it was with the Cecils and what they represented that strength in the immediate future lay.

Gladstone appears in the political chapters in a familiar light. He was the Gladstone of superb electioneering technique and somewhat dubious intellectual probity. But there is a happy and sympathetic picture of the Grand Old Man at Hawarden Castle in 1896 which is full of humor and understanding: "He really does know how to grow old with cheerfulness and dignity." Disraeli also appears but only in his last years and touched by the inexpressible sadness that seems to surround that great man. It is interesting to observe that even in those days when, surely, complete loyalty and sympathy was his due, Disraeli did not receive it from the Tory aristocracy whom he had led out to the promised land of progress and reform.

Perhaps the most valuable of these incomplete and unconnected chapters of autobiography are those that confirm the estimate of Lord Balfour as primarily a philosopher rather than a politician. Philosophy was his true interest and he often seems quite indifferent, even cynically so, to the considerations of practical politics. This seems to have become accentuated as he approached the status of an "Elder Statesman." Of course the philosophical attitude is not inconsistent with a long view of statesmanship, or even of a particular problem, but necessarily it reduces the degree of accomplishment and slows down the rate of progress. Besides, politics is too rough and ready on its practical side to be susceptible



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Why don't you write?

of philosophical guidance. There is a positive danger in allowing the philosopher to play at politics. He commits his people to more than they can apprehend, even if he does so honestly. He overrides considerations that to a taxpayer or a patriot may be vital because he, the philosopher, knows those considerations to be unworthy or misguided. Thus he may give cause for charges against his country of hypocrisy and of deceit against his party.

In the case of Lord Balfour, he is known to the present generation by three famous documents—namely, the Balfour Declaration, which promised to the Jews a national home in Palestine; the Balfour note which in effect canceled the war debts and reparations due to Great Britain over and above the total amount owing to the United States; and the statement of the Imperial Conference of 1926 placing on record the essential independence of the four great dominions, Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand. In all these historic documents one sees the man concerned with the ultimate truth rather than with the immediate realities. The Balfour Declaration was so nicely balanced as to produce an inevitable crop of distrust for its authors and executors. The Balfour note, while tying the hands of England in the subsequent debt negotiations merely irritated American feeling. Certainly it neither elevated British prestige nor stimulated emulation in the quarters where both were most desired. As for the 1926 statement concerning the empire, one can only say that not without reason some wit has recently suggested that a panel of Bishops be set up to advise future imperial conferences, so metaphysical have interimperial relationships become under the Balfour credo.

Perhaps the consolation lies in the feeling we have on closing this book that after all the philosopher is greater than the politician even if nations have not yet placed him on the pedestal of the statesman and the soldier. Apart from all this, for Lord Balfour we shall cherish that deep and true affection which the great gentleman must always arouse in us. A very human and very lovable "Elder Statesman."

The World's Economic Dilemma

By ALBERT J. LEVINE

THE WORLD'S ECONOMIC DILEMMA. By Ernest Minor Patterson. New York: Whittlesey House (McGraw-Hill Book Company), 1930. \$3.50.

PROFESSOR PATTERSON'S new book seeks to give an answer to the question, How can a world economically interdependent dissolve the political lines that divide

people into aggressively competitive units? To show the magnitude of the task he marshals the facts that tend to perpetuate national antipathies, such as the pressure of populations, climate and natural resources, the influence of large-scale production, the gold standard and the price economy, markets in a money-making economy, corporate growth and investments and the economic activities of governments. Each one is capable of producing stresses and strains in the economic structure because the problems that they evoke cannot be solved to the satisfaction of all the inhabitants of this world and warfare ensues owing to the "ineradicable reason" that causes us to view "those who are near us in space, in time and in relationship as more important and hence to be aided more carefully than those who are remote from us in these particulars." This "ineradicable reason" is purely psychological.

These things Professor Patterson views as primary data of economics. The pressure of population is becoming acute. There are more mouths to feed every year. But food is only one item in the vast aggregate of human wants. They are grouped under the categories of necessities, comforts and luxuries. They are not rigidly delimited because luxuries and comforts have a way of becoming necessities in a progressive civilization. They constitute standards of living. In the maintenance of these standards, climate and natural resources play an important part. If nature bestowed its bounties with equal prodigality on all regions, there would be little economic tension. But she smiles upon some and frowns upon others. Rarely does she concentrate in any one area a full measure of fertility and mineral resources so as to enable its inhabitants to produce an adequate supply of food, raw material and finished products. Rather does she distribute her gifts far and wide, ensuring to some people an abundance of food, to others an inexhaustible supply of natural products, to still others the climatic conditions that are conducive to mental vigor. There results, then, a condition of dependence of one geographic group upon another for those economic goods for whose production nature had unfitted them. Great Britain and Belgium are outstanding examples of such dependence.

Mankind seeks to abate these inequalities by resorting to such economic weapons as large-scale production, the manipulation of prices, the control of markets, the promotion of corporate growth and investment, and the erection of tariff walls. They are proving ineffective because the strategy that dictates their use tends to deepen the resentment and to arouse the cupidity of the nation against whom it is directed. Increased productive capacity leads to a struggle for markets; the

scramble for markets has its repercussions on the maintenance of the gold standard and its attendant inflation and deflation of prices; price wars lead to enhanced corporate growth which tends to make "more and more of the costs of business overhead." This renders the need for markets more acute and lends still greater momentum to the world's economic machine.


Professor Patterson finds these economic influences at work in Great Britain, Germany, France, Italy, Japan and the United States. Each one is trying to find its own way out of the morass of depression, each one vaguely sensing that its dilemma is really the world's dilemma and that no political "ism" or panacea can solve the problems growing out of the pressure of populations upon politically controlled economic resources. Nationalism cannot relieve that pressure; international co-operation can. Professor Patterson makes four constructive "suggestions" calculated to bring about such cooperation. First is the making of adjustable commercial treaties aimed at the reduction in tariffs. Second is the international trust or cartel. Third is the establishment of financial consortiums to guard the interests of borrowing countries against the "world competitive scramble" of money lenders. Finally, he would empower the League of Nations to make a thorough analysis of economic problems. They are neither new nor arresting suggestions, but we are fast becoming converted to the belief that "it is in these four ways but not only in these four ways that the world is working its way out of a dilemma that might easily become an impasse. Though the gains are at times slow, there is ample reason for believing that progress is really being made."

Andrew Johnson and the Radicals

THE AGE OF HATE: Andrew Johnson and the Radicals.
By George Fort Milton. 787 pp. New York: Coward-McCann, 1930. \$5.

GEORGE FORT MILTON, in this life of Andrew Johnson, has courageously discarded the fictional writing which has been the predominating characteristic of biographical literature in recent years and has produced an objective, realistic narrative of the extraordinary career of this remarkable man. It is a solid work of nearly 800 pages, and shows on every page the results of meticulous, painstaking research and extraordinary care in supporting every statement and conclusion by authoritative and, wherever it exists, by official documentation. It is the last

Continued on Page XVII



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GENERAL CHARLES P. SUMMERALL
Chief of Staff for the last four years, who has retired after a
distinguished military career of 38 years

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COLONEL VALERY SLAWEK
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THE INDIAN ROUND
Prime Minister MacDonald, t



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TABLE CONFERENCE
Chairman, is at the centre right

Times Wide World



THE MOST REVEREND NATHAN SOEDERBLOM
Archbishop of Upsala and Primate of Sweden, awarded the
Nobel Peace Prize for 1930



WILLIAM N. DOAK
Appointed Secretary of Labor to succeed James J. Davis



Courtesy Riscky G.

G. K. ORDJONIKIDZE
The new President of the Supreme Economic Council of the Soviet Union

CURRENT HISTORY

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Number 4

The Industrialization of Russia

The Soviet Government's five-year plan to accelerate the industrialization of Russia along lines never before attempted is discussed in the two following articles, which analyze from opposite points of view the results obtained at the end of the first two years. The first article is written by an officer of the Amtorg Trading Corporation, a Soviet organization in the United States, and the second by a former American commercial attaché to Russia.—Editor, CURRENT HISTORY.

I—Soviet Claims to Progress of the Five-Year Plan

By MAURICE MENDELSON

Director, Information Department of Amtorg Trading Corporation

THE five-year plan for economic construction, finally adopted by the Congress of the Soviets in May, 1929, was the maximum version of the two presented by the State Planning Commission (Gosplan). The more moderate variant, together with the earlier programs calling for a slow development of industry on an essentially unchanged agricultural basis, were cast into the scrap heap of history by the congress.

While the outside world is considering the chances of the five-year plan attaining some degree of realization, the Soviet Union is hard at work on something far more audacious and ambitious. The five-year-plan-in-four-

years rather than the five-year plan proper occupies the centre of the social-economic stage in the Soviet Union. Because of this, the results of the first two years of the plan, which was put under way on Oct. 1, 1928, must be considered in the light of both these programs.

The five-year-plan-in-four-years is not merely a concentrated version of its predecessor. Between the two there are vast social, economic and technological differences. By far the most important new element in the latter plan is the changed outlook on the problem of collectivization. The drawing in of the peasantry, which constitutes more than four-fifths of

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the Soviet population, into associations for the joint cultivation of land involves tremendous changes not only in the processes of production but in the entire aspect of the countryside. In 1928 the collectivization movement was as yet in its experimental stage, and the earlier plan foresaw but a very gradual spread of collective farming. By the last of the five-year plan it was expected that about 52,500,000 acres, or less than one-sixth of the entire sown area, would be cultivated collectively.

In 1930, however, the successful example of the large-scale farms already in operation, which increased substantially the income per peasant family, coupled with the active aid of the government in the way of tractors, supplies, tax privileges, and so forth, directed toward collectivization fully a third of the Soviet peasant population. A certain and an unfortunate rôle was played by the administrative measures of some overzealous local officials. However, after the now-famous articles of Stalin, in which the voluntary character of collectivization was reiterated, many peasants who joined the collectives under compulsion withdrew. Nevertheless, fully 95,000,000 acres were harvested by collectives in the Fall of 1930.

Such success of the movement, coupled with the fact that collective farming resulted in increased sowings and a 10 to 20 per cent gain in the yield per acre—the reward of even the most primitive forms of large-scale land cultivation—could not but prove contagious. Consequently, it is not surprising that at the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, in the Summer of 1930, Stalin called for the collectivization of practically the entire country by the end of the original five-year plan.

Along with collectives there developed the mechanized State farms, marking the entrance of the government into agricultural production. In spite of the unprecedented character

of such farms, a very reasonable degree of efficiency has been attained. In 1930 State and collective farms supplied more than half the marketable surplus of grain, providing a solution of the problem of supplying grain for urban population and to an extent for the export trade. The growth of State farms received additional encouragement, and they will in 1931 comprise over 49,000,000 acres of land, as against the maximum of 30,000,000 scheduled by the plan. The introduction of factory production methods in grain cultivation brought up in 1930 the question of organizing also State animal-breeding farms, dairy stations, and so forth, in order to relieve the difficulties of meat and dairy supply. In September, 1930, there were already over 500 cattle, sheep, hog and dairy State farms with several million head of animals. This, too, was a development which the original plan did not foresee.

The collectivization program was not proposed several years earlier, for instance during Lenin's lifetime, because the material bases did not exist for such a move. In order to place the new collective movement on a lasting basis, it became necessary to create without delay the corresponding material foundations. In the new plan the tractor production program for the five years has been increased from 1,500,000 horsepower to 10,000,000 horsepower. The agricultural machinery production program has been doubled. The expansion of plans for automobile, general machinery and oil production (the latter from 22,000,000 to 41,500,000 tons in 1932-33) is also to an extent tied up with the needs of collectivization. Naturally, the increased schedules for the production of machinery must, in turn, find their reflection in the steel and other industries.

In the meantime it appeared that not all the possibilities for the maximum growth of industry were taken into account in the old plan. For one thing, plant equipment is operated

one or at the most two shifts per day and five or six days per week. An opportunity to increase production came from the introduction of the so-called uninterrupted working week, which makes possible the continuous utilization of equipment (while every worker receives one day off in every five) and at the same time the extension of the multiple shift system.

Another advance over the old plan is the changed conception of the maximum size of industrial enterprises that can be built in the Soviet Union. The old five-year plan was essentially based on European industrial experience and called for the construction of plants of the largest types found in Europe. For instance, in the steel industry two standard types of mills were evolved to produce 330,000 and 660,000 metric tons of iron per year, although in this country there are plants producing four times the larger figure. During the past two years Soviet industry for the first time came into close first-hand contact with American technique. It was concluded that since Soviet and American natural conditions are so much alike, it would be possible and also economical to pass directly to the American technical level, omitting the European stage of development altogether. As a result the Magnet Mountain steel mill in the Urals is being built to produce annually 2,500,000 tons of iron and the mills of the Kuznets Basin (Siberia) and Zaporozhye (Ukraine) 1,100,000 tons each. In the chemical, coal, oil and other industries similar changes are taking place, thus allowing for substantial increases in production schedules.

While the old five-year plan, requiring the importation of very large quantities of industrial, agricultural and transportation machinery and equipment, opened important perspectives before American manufacturers, the revised plan not only increases the Soviet machinery requirements but at the same time distinctly favors the

American product. The large collective and State farms require the most powerful types of tractors developed, while the huge industrial plants necessitate the bringing in of those types of mass production industrial machinery for which the United States is particularly known. This does not mean that Soviet industry does not use European machinery and could not employ much larger quantities of it in case of necessity. But other conditions being equal, American equipment is preferred.

The five-year-plan-in-four-years, unlike the five-year plan proper, is not a codified program. It is being developed from year to year through corresponding changes in the annual programs of the Gosplan, the so-called control figures. Most branches of industry and agriculture, however, are preparing revised programs for the entire five-year period. Thus, for the coal industry, the program for 1932-33 has been increased from 75,000,000 tons to 120,000,000 tons, for the pig iron industry from 10,000,000 tons to 17,000,000 tons, for the State farms from 12,500,000 acres to 75,000,000 acres, for sugar beet cultivation from 2,718,000 acres to 5,500,000 acres.

The first two years of the five-year plan were to show, according to the maximum variant, a 47.5 per cent gain in the output of State large-scale industry. The actual increase was 53 per cent. The underfulfillment of the control figures for 1929-1930, which is sometimes interpreted in the press as the failure of the five-year plan, should not obscure this undeniable fact. Furthermore, while the plan called for a 58 per cent increase in the output of the heavy industries, such as fuel, metal and chemical, which are the prerequisite of further industrial progress, the actual gain was 78 per cent. On the other hand, light industry failed to carry out its program (showing a gain of only 33 per cent, as against 40 per cent), largely because of the undersupply of agricul-

tural raw materials available in 1929-1930.

Some of the principal industries show the following comparison between the actual output in 1928-1929 and 1929-1930 combined and the program for the two-year period:

	Program.	Actual Production.
Coal (metric tons)...	87,700,000	86,400,000
Oil (metric tons)...	28,000,000	30,700,000
Rolled steel (metric tons)	7,600,000	8,350,000
Agricultural machinery (rubles)...	472,000,000	523,000,000

One of the severest tests to which the five-year plan has been put was with regard to capital investments for new construction and reconstruction in industry. Nevertheless, State industry from its own funds and from the appropriations granted by the budget was able to make actual capital investments during the two years of 5,000,000,000 rubles, as against the program of 3,900,000,000 rubles.

An important source of these investments was the increased profits received by industries in consequence of the reduction of costs. In this respect, however, as well as with regard to other so-called qualitative elements of the plan, industry fell somewhat behind. The plan, which called for a 7 per cent reduction in costs each year, was carried out only to the extent of from 4 to 5 per cent in 1928-1929, but was fulfilled in 1929-1930. The productivity of labor rose 15 per cent in the first year and from 12 to 13 per cent in the second, while the plan called for 16.4 and 17 per cent. A distinct drawback was the lack of improvement in the quality of production.

The transportation system, whose failure to cope with the demand upon its services is so severely criticized in the Soviet press, has really exceeded the five-year plan by a wide margin. During 1928-1929 and 1929-1930 freight operations of railways were scheduled to increase 24 per cent, but the actual gain was in the neighborhood of 50 per cent.

The first two years of the five-

year plan proved crucial ones for agriculture. The results of 1929 were far from encouraging. Sowings increased but 4 per cent as against 6.9 per cent in the plan. The yield per acre declined instead of gaining. To relieve this situation, which by causing considerable difficulties with regard to food and raw materials supply, endangered the entire plan, was perhaps, the principal task of 1930. It can be stated that the "agricultural offensive" of 1930 was very successful (except with regard to live stock) and made up for the shortcomings of 1929. The agricultural production of the crop of 1930 increased 17.5 per cent over the preceding year, as against corresponding gains of only from 4 to 5 per cent in the earlier years. The harvested area of 1930, that is, the total sown area minus the acreage of crops which perished, was about 320,000,000 acres—25,000,000 acres more than in 1929. While the cultivated area is still about 4,000,000 acres short of the five-year plan schedule for 1930, the deficiency is more than made up by a substantial gain in the productivity of the soil and the expansion in the sowings of the most valuable industrial crops.

Largely because of the greater yield on State and collective farms using improved methods, the 1930 grain crop is estimated as one-fifth greater than that of 1929. For industrial crops the achievements are even more notable. The acreage of the principal crops is not only in excess of the program for 1930, but even of that for 1932-33, the last year of the plan, as shown in the following table:

	ACREAGE.		
	Plan, 1930.	Actual, 1930.	Plan, 1932-33.
Cotton	3,250,000	4,168,000	3,822,000
Flax (fiber)...	3,750,000	4,502,000	4,317,000
Sugar beets...	2,250,000	2,587,000	2,718,000

While the official figures for the rise in the national income during 1929-30 are not yet available, it can be estimated on the basis of partial reports as close to 20 per cent. During the first two years of the plan the

national income then rose no less than between 33 and 35 per cent, as compared with the program of 28.2 per cent. This is a result which provides the basis for the expectation of much greater progress than the last Congress of Soviets believed possible.

Turning to the five-year-plan-in-four-years, we must consider separately the results of 1928-29 and 1929-30 and the control figures for 1930-31, in which the revised program finds its highest expression. During 1928-29 the control figures corresponded to the schedules of the five-year plan. The fact, however, that these schedules were overfulfilled provided the initial impetus for the raising of the program. Large-scale industrial production during 1928-29 increased 23.7, as against 21.4 per cent called by the plan. Freight operations of railways gained 21 per cent, as against 10.1 per cent. On the other hand, agricultural production, as has been shown, failed to come up to the program.

The control figures for 1929-30, in accordance with newly established objectives, were raised very substantially, particularly for industry. Thus, industrial production was to increase 32 per cent, as against 21.5 per cent in the five-year plan. As a result of the success of the collectivization movement in 1929-30 agriculture carried out its program. Paradoxically, the failure of industry to carry out its program was to an extent the result of the agricultural successes, since during August and September, 1930, a part of the industrial labor force left for the villages to participate in the harvesting of the bumper crop. Industrial production in 1929-30 increased 24½ per cent. Heavy industry made a comparatively good showing, with a gain of 38 per cent, as against the program of 40 per cent, but light industry fell down, with only 11 per cent increase where 24 per cent was planned.

Has this falling behind the control figures been the result of raising the

goal too high over the original five-year plan? The Soviet press and the leaders of industry unanimously answer in the negative. It appears undeniable that industry failed to utilize many opportunities for greater production, and that it was caught unawares in difficulties which improved organization might have avoided.

The average utilization of equipment during the year was from only about 12 to 13 hours. An adverse factor was the several months' delay in the completion of a number of new industrial enterprises, which consequently did not begin to produce in 1929-30. One of the most serious difficulties during the year was the shortage and the high turnover of labor. The Soviet Union after several years of some unemployment finds itself in the unique position of not having enough skilled labor.

In the light of the difficulties of industry in 1929-30, what are the prospects for the coming years, when the tempo of development must be raised still more? During 1931 industry, according to the control figures, must increase production at least 50 per cent. Such high expectations are based on the assumption that the organizational shortcomings will be eradicated to a great extent and that the many huge new enterprises which in the past two or three years consumed billions of rubles but did not produce a kopek's worth of products will start operation. A general enthusiasm for the work is a necessary prerequisite of the plan, but nothing supernatural is expected. The greatly expanded program is not dependent upon large loans from abroad, although these would, of course, be welcome.

Will the five-year plan be carried out in time? The answer is that if

*The beginning of the new Soviet fiscal year was recently changed from Oct. 1, 1930, to Jan. 1, 1931 and the period October-December, 1930, was set aside as a special "shock" quarter. That this was done not to make up the deficiencies of 1929-30 in the carrying out of the plan, but as a matter of expediency is shown, for instance, by the fact that the coal production program for the three months is set at 21,250,000 tons or higher than the production level of 1932-33, the last year of the plan.

the program for 1931 meets with any degree of success the basic elements of the plan will be completed in three or three and a half years. The control figures for the fiscal year 1930-31 show the close degree to which the five-year plan is already being carried out:

	Control Figures for 1930-31.	Five-Year Plan Schedule for 1932-33.
Coal (metric tons)...	74,500,000	75,000,000
Oil (tons).....	23,000,000	22,000,000
Pig iron (tons).....	7,500,000	10,000,000
Agricultural machinery (rubles)...	850,000,000	610,000,000

The agricultural program for 1931 is larger than that of 1932-33 in the original plan. The sown area is to increase to 362,500,000 acres, as compared with the maximum figure in the old plan of 352,500,000 acres. The railway freight operations for 1930-31 are set at 193,800,000,000 ton-kilometers as against the figure of 162,700,000,000 scheduled for 1932-33 in the five-year plan.

Such high rates of development for 1931, assuring the carrying out of the revised plan in full, may seem fantastic. But so appeared to be the old five-year plan. The technical revolution in agriculture will certainly release a large labor force for the needs of industry, and preparations are being made in thousands of new indus-

trial schools to teach trades to these unskilled workers. The large production of industrial crops this year will eliminate the principal factor which handicapped light industry up to the present time. In consequence, production of consumers' goods is expected to show in 1931 three times the gain of the past Soviet fiscal year. The fact that the Soviet Union in spite of the falling world prices succeeded in increasing its exports during the past year by one-quarter, indicates that the import and, in turn, the construction programs will not be endangered. These and many other factors lie at the basis of the control figures for 1930-31. At any rate, it may be said that the question of the carrying out of the five-year plan will be decided not in several years but within the next twelve months.

The close dependence of Soviet-American trade, now in the neighborhood of \$200,000,000 per year, on the five-year plan and particularly on its expanded version is obvious. Soviet purchases of industrial machinery in the United States increased from \$10,900,000 in 1926-1927 to \$34,000,000 in 1928-1929 and \$51,000,000 in 1929-1930. Agricultural machinery purchases rose from \$6,600,000 in 1926-1927 to \$28,300,000 in 1928-1929 and \$63,500,000 in 1929-1930.

II—The Five-Year Plan Under Fire

By HENRY D. BAKER

Former American Commercial Attaché in Russia

ELABORATE reviews of the so-called five-year plan of the Soviet authorities, compiled, no doubt, from official information supplied by the Soviet Government, reveal an alluring picture of accomplishments thus far. They also make optimistic predictions as to the remaining program of the great miracle scheme whereby Soviet Russia plans to duplicate within five years, or even four,

material progress made in the United States over the last century.

The actual possibilities for success must depend largely on complete trust of American and foreign business interests that the huge scheme of industrialization planned at such hurricane speed, will not end in a catastrophe or a counter-revolution, and that credits or loans advanced will not eventually share the fate of credits and invest-

ments of the pre-Soviet days. These were rendered worthless when the present Soviet régime was initiated and by its first official acts, with respect to America alone, repudiated items of \$187,000,000 owing to the United States Government, \$75,000,000 owing to American private investors in dollar bonds and \$11,000,000 to private investors in treasury notes and confiscated according to claims filed with our Department of State, over \$400,000,000 worth of property of American citizens.

The Soviet Government is notorious as the openly avowed and implacable foe of capitalism throughout the world. Yet it has received many acceptances from American business interests to its invitation to cooperate in the five-year plan.

No matter how intensive the dumping of Soviet products on other nations, nor how great the inflation of paper rubles at home, the Soviet Government finds itself short of meeting the accumulating burdens of financing its five-year plan except as it can to a large extent do so with promises to pay. Whatever products it can take away from its own necessitous people, it will sell cheap, very cheap, in fact, for almost any price it can get in order to raise cash for the five-year plan. And for its immense purchasing commitments to further the big plan progressively, it pays big price premiums, provided actual payments can be postponed through long credits.

Although the Soviet authorities give reassuring estimates of the astounding rise of the Soviet infant industrial giant, they gloss over or fail to mention some of the great impediments of this plan, which reveal its inherent unsoundness. There is constant evidence both in the Soviet press itself, and in the observations of impartial observers who have lately been in Russia, that the five-year plan is crushing the country under its own monstrous weight.

There has been much favorable comment on the Soviet's measures of

relief to agriculture. But the Soviet writers who prepare articles for American reading do not mention that the first important measure of farm relief was to relieve the better off and more competent peasants of their farms altogether. Joseph Stalin, in an address to the Communist party of the Soviet Union on June 27, 1930 (reported in the Soviet's New York organ, the *Daily Worker*, July 28, 1930), announced that "the confiscated property of the kulaks (rich peasants) was transferred to the collective farms to the value of over 400,000,000 rubles." What has become of the wealthier farmers who were deprived of their land, stock and equipment? It is understood that they have been given certain conscripted tasks, such as working in the Arctic forests with convicts and other forced labor in high pressure efforts to get out the timber the government is intensively dumping in the United States and other countries to help raise cash for its five-year plan.

It is only human nature that before confiscation the wealthier peasants should slaughter all their stock. In consequence there has since been a most serious shortage of meat, fats and dairy products. It is explained that the Soviet is now organizing animal breeding farms and dairy stations in order to meet the difficulties of meat and dairy supply, a development the original five-year plan did not foresee.

The Soviet's own publications, such as *Izvestiya*, *Pravda*, *Economic Life* and *For the Cause of Industrialization*, continually mention instances of the carelessness, confusion, excessive costs, wastes, bureaucratic inefficiency, bad discipline, lack of coordination and accidents incident to the progress of the five-year plan, as well as the growing hardships experienced by the people.

Izvestiya, for example, has repeatedly shown the serious inefficiency of the great Stalingrad Tractor Plant, which was 50 per cent below schedule

in August, 1930, with 358 machine tools and 1,000 workmen kept idle in its factory departments. This was due to a variety of factors, such as insufficient skilled labor under technical supervision, excessive labor turnover and lack of proper tools. The Red Putilovetz Plant, owing to maladjustments, produced only 661 tractors instead of 2,100 because the castings delivered from several Leningrad factories were too hard to use. Workmen lost thousands of productive hours standing in long lines at lunch counters waiting to get a meal. Resistance to American technical guidance has grown steadily. The trade publication, *For the Cause of Industrialization*, in its issue of Sept. 23, 1930, stated that "the chain of impediments to tractor production at Stalingrad seems to be endless." No sooner were troubles with the oil pumps eliminated than other handicaps became manifest. This time (Sept. 23) mass production of tractors could not be started owing to the lack of special fixtures for machine tools, which were not sent promptly enough by the Soviet trade delegation in Berlin. The assembling of tractors was also handicapped by the poor quality of copper and bronze fittings to the tractors which are manufactured by the Leningrad factory. These fittings leaked; the threads did not fit, and 80 per cent of the parts had to be junked. There were no fan-belts, which are necessary for tractors. Owing to the inefficiency of the United Steel Industries, further equipment of the Stalingrad plant is being delayed for lack of U-iron and gas pipes. At a conference of labor correspondents of newspapers it was stated that the Stalingrad plant is only a training shop with very poor students at that. Members of the technical personnel can read the blueprints but do not know how to start the operation of a machine tool.

In the Russian canning industry,

where there has been particular effort "to catch up with and overtake" the similar industries of Western Europe and the United States by doing in three years what they have done in forty years, *Economic Life*, in its issue of Aug. 9, 1930, refers to bureaucratic struggles between different Soviet organizations and the absurdly inefficient results: "A number of large canneries are being built at the present time, but there is no coordination between the various construction agencies and the organizations that sponsor the work. As a result there are cases where canneries are built without an actual survey of available raw materials. Consequently a cannery may be built, only to find that the adjacent agricultural areas are not in position to supply the necessary produce, and large amounts of money must then be spent to develop this phase of agriculture."

In connection with the canning of fish products *Economic Life* further mentions that "the United Canning Industries are planning to build a number of canneries which will work on fish caught in the Azov and Black Seas, while the United Fishing Industries plan their activities in such a way that no fish will be left for the former. The United Fishing Industries are also building in the city of Astrakhan a large fish cannery for preserving a certain fish, vobia (*cyp-rinus vimba*), in spite of the fact that it has not been determined whether it is chemically possible to preserve this type of fish."

All the railways of Russia appear to be running on belated schedules, with accidents increasing and locomotives and equipment breaking down. After the recent celebration of the completion of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway, it appears to have been almost "completely forgotten by all administrative and supplying organizations," says *Economic Life* (Aug. 9, 1930), which also mentions that during July "1,343 workmen engaged in locomotive and track maintenance

quit work and only 768 men were hired to fill these vacancies." It also cites one instance of four trains held up because all the locomotive crews were drunk and of another instance where a group of railroad workmen were caught stealing railroad material. The entire situation on this railway was declared to be "very critical." *Pravda*, in its issue of Aug. 12, 1930, reported that the growing number of cases of poor performance of locomotives was causing considerable alarm. In July there was an increase of 33 per cent of such cases over June, the total number of such disabilities in July being 10,892, of which 1,722 represented break-downs, 3,541 were caused by stopping of trains en route because of inefficiency of the crews, and 1,382 cases because locomotives were not sent to trains in due time.

Miss Laura A. Friedman, a Chicago graduate of Vassar College, who lately returned from Russia, is quoted on Oct. 2, 1930, as saying: "There is a great shortage of food in Russia at present. This is partly due to the fact that much food is being exported in order to bring gold. People are literally dying in the streets, and time and time again we have seen them lying in the streets or on the grass, sleeping as if they were exhausted. We have seen people so hungry that they have licked the food we left on our plates and picked up crumbs of bread. Prices are terrific. Shoes are \$40, dresses \$50, and socks \$4. There is such a lack of the ordinary commodities that it is appalling. Cobblers have no leather with which to mend shoes. Such notions as thread are unavailable. The people go around in rags, and in the north many of them are barefoot. All shops are virtually empty. Linens are exhausted and the towels we had, when we were able to get them, were strips of linen from old sheets."

The high cost of shoes has caused a tremendous demand for repairs.

For the Cause of Industrialization, (Aug. 15, 1930), stated that the workrooms of the Leningrad Leather Industrial Cooperative had 71,000 pairs of footwear needing repair. These shops are able to mend from 1,500 to 1,600 pairs daily, while the number of pairs to be handled each day is not less than 2,500. The high cost of socks also creates a need for repairs, but to quote the same Soviet publication, "one has to wait three months to have a pair of socks repaired at the Leningrad Clothing and Knitting Union, and one month for the repairing of a coat or trousers."

The oppressive financial strain of the five-year plan is illustrated by the increasing difficulty in floating internal loans, and the necessity of squeezing still more money out of peasants and workers who have little or no surplus to spare after meeting, with their low wages and depreciated currency, excessive costs of living.

At the hearing of the Fish committee in New York during the Summer of 1930, Congressman Nelson handed to Chairman Bogdanov of the Amtorg Trading Corporation a copy of the *Economic Survey*, published by the State Bank of Soviet Russia, in which it was stated that in 1929-30 estimated expenditures would be 52 per cent of the national income. Mr. Bogdanov admitted that all State enterprises, everybody and everything in fact, must bear in taxes and forced loans this burden of 52 per cent out of all they could make. In July, 1930, a loan of 750,000,000 rubles was "administratively apportioned" over 95 per cent of the working population. The bonds of this loan were to be under "social control" of commissions with power to permit or forbid the bonds to be disposed of. The previous error of allowing such bonds to be hypothecated at the State bank so that the owners could get some money and let the government keep the bonds, was not to be repeated. This particular issue had for its object the speeding up of the five-year plan so

that it could be completed in four years. *Pravda* on Sept. 3, 1930, reported a serious failure to distribute the bonds satisfactorily either in villages or in industrial centres.

On Aug. 1, 1930, according to *Economic Survey* of the State Bank of the Soviet Union, bank notes in circulation were 2,054,500,000 rubles, as against 989,800,000 rubles on Oct. 1, 1928; treasury notes were 1,533,600,000, as against 461,000,000 on Oct. 1, 1928. This tremendous increase in output of paper currency explains the steady depreciation in purchasing power of the ruble.* Although presumably the ruble is worth about 50 cents in American money, and American travelers buying rubles at official rates of the Soviet before their arrival in Russia receive only about two rubles for the dollar, near the frontier in cities like Helsingfors, Warsaw and Harbin there is a business in rubles at about 12 cents each, with the values tending steadily to lessen. The Americans who have changed their dollars into rubles at the official rate, thus find that the cost of living in Russia on the basis of their converted dollars is enormous.

The reserves for note issues of the Soviet State Bank "legally comprise gold bullion, coin and other precious metals and foreign currencies. This item of foreign currencies includes bills of exchange for all commodities in course of export and covered by sales contracts and bills of lading." The State Bank by Soviet law may issue and circulate chervonetz (10-ruble) notes to be secured up to one-quarter of a nominal amount by precious metals and foreign currency, both considered as "firm cover," and the balance of three-fourths by mer-

chandise, bills of exchange and other documents. "By this method the expansion of industries is fed by bank notes, which pledge assets in return for loans advanced. * * * Until recently, treasury notes were also legally issued up to 50 per cent of the bank notes issued, but lately this proportion has been raised to 75 per cent."

There is obviously a necessity for securing foreign currencies through intensive exports or dumping, not only to meet cash payments on equipment imported but also to serve as legal "firm cover" for the issues of bank notes, which make a roof base for additional skyscraper superstructure of 75 per cent of their amount in treasury notes. The Soviet régime, by reason of this inflation, can dump goods on other countries at ridiculously low prices and yet appear to make paper profits, since all goods exported create the "firm cover," whereby enormous issues of ruble currency can be forced on the population.

That vast waste must be incidental to the intense haste of the five-year plan as well as agonizing distress during these years of sacrifice, seems easy to understand. But it is not easy to fathom exactly what is the idea of the terrific haste to accomplish this five-year plan in four years. Literature from Soviet sources tells of the tremendous efforts put forth and of the extremely ambitious programs, but it does not throw light on the motives. In the minds of Bolshevik fanatics the sacrifices required to complete the five-year plan in four years are perhaps in preparation for war with hated capitalistic nations.

To the average sacrificing toiler for the "Big Plan," however, the motive is probably not that of preparing for another terrible war in which he might be an early victim. His earnest, enthusiastic motive is rather to hasten the dawn of his victory over poverty, to see an end of his distress, to find rest from toil, to realize his dream of having enough to eat and to wear,

* In a dispatch from Moscow on Nov. 17 Walter Duranty stated that the Soviet abruptly checked inflation in the six weeks ending Nov. 15, 1930, bringing the total outstanding currency emission on that date to 4,000,000,000 rubles, a decrease of 400,000,000 rubles since Oct. 1, 1930, with a rise in gold cover of the chervonetz issue from 25 to 27.4 per cent. The dispatch also stated that the new President of the Supreme Economic Council, G. K. Ordjonikidze, was increasing the supply of sugar, food and textiles by improved distribution and was also insuring better housing conditions for the workers.

and finally to reach that glorious part of his life story, when he can "be happy ever afterward." No doubt he eagerly thinks that at the end of five or four years, he will see emancipation from his present slave labor. Terrible may be the disappointing illusion if instead of living in a paradise of freedom and prosperity, he should find further conscriptions awaiting him either for another war or for still more years of hard labor with little food and clothing.

Even if all the many new factories and giant farms are in a position to produce efficiently at the end of the five-year plan, how, without increased individual purchasing power, can there be sufficient consumption of what might be produced? The primitive system of barter for food, clothing and tools might always be carried on when the currency itself becomes worthless, but such a condition can not make for a prosperous Russia.

Russia at present is one vast camp of mobilized workers, with shock brigades, shifted hither and thither, wherever weak points develop on the front. The Soviet journal *Trud* tells of a recent contract between the Pan-Ukrainian committee and the Coal Union, whereby some 15,000 agricultural workers "are placed in the most painful conditions, probably against their own desire and will." *Trud* explains that these farm workers are bound down for a period of two years and that if they leave their work before the termination of the contract they are treated as outcasts and are not permitted to buy provisions or other goods. This new form of forced labor has been introduced to counteract the effects of widespread "desertion from the coal front" by miners, especially in the Donetz Basin, owing to the scarcity of food, and bad housing. *Pravda* on Aug. 22, 1930, stated that as a result of the increased demand for labor in the coal-mining industry, which had so far failed to carry out the production program for the year, the Central Administration

of the collective farms had issued an order to 20,000 of their members, assigning them to work in the coal mines.

In Pennsylvania there are five counties with a total population of 2,250,000 which depend upon anthracite as a means of livelihood. Last year our anthracite industry was only just prosperous enough to allow average employment for 260 days. Every day of idleness in the hard-coal fields means a loss of \$1,000,000 in wages. The invasion, initiated last year, of Russian hard coal into the American market may apparently be intensified through the drafting of peasants to the Soviet coal front.

The American lumber industry is not so strong and prosperous that it can contemplate with equanimity the competition that has recently developed with forced and purely prison labor in Northern Russia. Our new tariff law forbids the import of goods made by prison labor, and also the products of forced labor, but this latter not to become effective until 1932. There is plenty of evidence to show that practically all the recent heavy shipments to the United States of timber from Russia are produced either by prison or forced labor or both, but the difficulty so far has been to separate the product of prison or convict labor from that of merely forced labor. The Soviet has thus far been considerably given the benefit of the doubt*. The London *Morning Post* states that the wages of the forced labor are 17 cents a day at Archangel, where tea or coffee is \$3.12 a pound, butter \$1.16 a pound and a tin of condensed milk 84 cents.

*The United States Department of Commerce on Nov. 18, 1930, stated that official Soviet statistics showed that for the first six months of the Russian fiscal year, which ended on Oct. 1, 1930, imports amounted to \$260,000,000 as against \$190,000,000 for the same period of 1929; exports, \$249,652,000 as against \$201,930,000 in the same period of 1929. Imports to the United States increased 148 per cent, an increase in purchases by the Amtorg Corporation of \$33,000,000 in the six months' period. Industrial, agricultural and automotive equipment and supplies purchased in six months in the United States reached \$56,700,000, or nearly four times the figures for the corresponding period of 1928-29. Exports from the United States were six times as large as imports.

If there is to be a demobilization of workers after the five-year plan, the employment situation may offer tremendous problems of readjustment. From the present position of there not being enough workers for the vast work in hand, there may be a change to not enough work for disbanded workers.

If Russia completes its five-year plan, it will be in all probability a Pyrrhic victory, and one that may require a reorganization plan of much more than five years for recovery. Many of the new factories would perhaps be vacated or dismantled and much useless and damaged machinery scrapped. If, in view of the negligible individual purchasing power of the Russians themselves, at the end of the five-year plan, there could be no home market for the goods produced, then the dumping of such products on the more prosperous markets of capitalistic countries might grow worse than before.

In the trade reviews and public addresses and interviews, inspired by the Soviet Government for American information, strong emphasis is placed on the alleged great benefits to the United States from the trade rapidly developing under the five-year plan. There is particular stress on the huge orders given for American machinery, electric equipment and tractors. Nevertheless, the *Economic Survey* of the State Bank of the Soviet Union, published monthly at Moscow, makes it quite clear that such imports are of a temporary nature. The following sentence in its issue of August, 1930, is significant: "The industrialization and rationalization of Soviet economy will diminish the U. S. S. R.'s dependence on capitalist countries, and the imports of foreign goods for Soviet key industries will steadily decline from year to year."

As regards tractors, the same publication on Nov. 30, 1929, predicted that within the next two years production in Soviet Russia would exceed that of the United States, and

also that 70,000 combines would be used by 1932 on Soviet collective farms (private farms will not be supplied with combines and tractors), whereas, in America, 60,000 combines were employed in 1928. Although in 1929 the American export of tractors to Soviet Russia nearly doubled that of the previous year, our cotton exports to that country fell off by \$10,000,000. That loss to American cotton farmers was, of course, an economy which helped pay for the tractors and other machines.

The economy in cotton imports from the United States was mainly due to the inability of the Russian workers and peasants to spend much on apparel, since most of their money was required for food. It may also have been partly due to the fact that the Soviet textile mills, despite the lavish expenditures on them, are showing inefficiency and poor productivity.

The American manganese industry, which was particularly singled out in 1929 for Soviet dumping to help pay for tractors and other machines, finds itself now in the position thus described by J. Carson Adkerson, president of the American Manganese Producers Association at a convention at Washington on Nov. 10, 1930: "On account of the dumping of Soviet ores on our shores, at prices regardless of the cost of production, most plants have had to cease production during the early part of the year. Likewise, construction on new plants has been suspended because there is no market for the ore. The dumping of Soviet ores has paralyzed the American manganese industry."

For Russia itself the price of the five-year plan is one that staggers humanity. For other nations it is a price which must stagger the industries stricken by Soviet dumping, and generally injure national well-being, except as they are alert to the Red danger signals and act promptly to protect themselves. It is no time for any government like our own to be caught asleep at the switch.

Difficulties of Implementing The Kellogg Pact

By PHILIP MARSHALL BROWN

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THE guarded reference by President Hoover on Nov. 11, 1930, with reference to "implementing" the Briand-Kellogg anti-war pact stirred great interest in European chancelleries. At the end of November intimations came from both Paris and Washington that conversations for reinforcing the pact had been initiated by France.

Before we can decide the question how to "implement" the pact it is essential that we know what we are implementing. The provisions of the pact are, first, the renunciation of war "as an instrument of national policy," second, that the settlement of all disputes "shall never be sought except by peaceful means." It is a startling fact that this extraordinary document nowhere states that the signatory parties agree "that they will in no case resort to war for the solution of their disputes," to quote the proposed amendment to the covenant of the League of Nations. They have renounced war simply "as an instrument of national policy."

What nations have used war "as an instrument of national policy?" Surely not the United States. The few wars we have had were not deliberately planned. They have come unforeseen and unwanted as a dreadful alternative which could not be averted.

The same might be said of many other nations whose policy has been peaceful but which have been con-

strained to protect their interests by force of arms. It could not be honestly charged that they always sought war as a way of carrying out a national policy.

The same could not be truthfully said of Germany under Bismarck. He most obviously used war "as an instrument of national policy" in order to effect the unity of Germany. He forged his weapon and used it whenever the moment seemed propitious. He demonstrated the vast difference between the use of force to defend rights and the resort to war for purposes of national policy.

The second provision of the pact that the settlement of all disputes "shall never be sought except by peaceful means" is one which may or may not have value according to the exact circumstances of each case. What of the claim of a nation that in a given controversy it has exhausted all possible peaceful efforts to obtain a settlement; that it has given every evidence of its desire for peace; that its interests have been flouted, and that gross injustice cannot longer be tolerated? May it not be answered that such a nation, under great provocation, may be exonerated if driven to employ force in order to end this injustice?

It seems strange that the parties to the Kellogg pact, by the adoption of this curious phraseology, have failed to pledge themselves that *never again*,

under no circumstances whatever, would they use or permit war in their relations with each other. Why did they avoid so downright and absolute a renunciation of war? The reason is clarified by the negotiations which preceded the adoption of the pact. In these negotiations one nation after another imposed its own interpretations and reservations concerning the meaning of the pact, which were fully accepted by Mr. Kellogg in his eagerness to assure the adoption of the pact. He even went so far as to state that they were so obvious that they might be considered as implicit in the text itself! It was on the basis of these interpretations and reservations that the pact was finally signed by all the nations concerned and ratified by the United States Senate and it is on this basis that it will be judged, if the conduct of any of the signatory parties should ever be called into question.

These interpretations are in brief that the renunciation of war shall not apply in the following instances: (1) In self-defense; (2) against any State which breaks the treaty; (3) in execution of obligations under the League covenant; (4) in execution of obligations under the League agreements; (5) in execution of obligations under treaties guaranteeing neutrality which include the French "defensive alliances" with Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

With reference to the first general exception, wars of self-defense, the signatory parties attempted no definition of what constituted "self-defense." Senator Borah, as official spokesman for Secretary Kellogg in the Senate, asserted that it included the right of the United States to employ armed forces in the form of intervention in China, Central America or elsewhere. Great Britain likewise implied the same right in the defense of the empire, notably in the case of Egypt.

The reason, therefore, why the parties to the Kellogg pact avoided de-

liberately any expression to the effect that they never would under any circumstances resort to war was that they had no such intention! We have the paradoxical result that a great international agreement heralded throughout the world as a measure to "outlaw" war has resulted in the legalization of various specific kinds of war!

The pact unquestionably is evidence of a popular demand for peace, but it can hardly be claimed to be much more. If we are to implement and strengthen the pact, we must acknowledge the essential nature of the pact itself before we can evaluate properly the various proposals now before us. There is no doubt whatever that the other signatory powers, and notably France, when they signed and ratified the pact, did so in the fervent hope that it would lead the United States to assume a position of active association with all the other powers in the enforcement of the pact. Apparently immense importance was attached to the phrase in the preamble of the pact "that any signatory power which shall hereafter seek to promote its national interests by resort to war *should be denied the benefits furnished by this treaty*." In other words, the statesmen of Europe, and particularly those of France, who are essentially men of practical realism in international affairs, while attaching great moral value to the general condemnation of war expressed by the Kellogg pact, felt that it could be of slight value in an actual situation unless it were reinforced by a common action against any nation violating the pact.

The amendments to the covenant of the League of Nations recommended by the special committee appointed for the purpose of bringing the covenant "into harmony with the pact at Paris" are as follows:

Article 12 (1) to be amended to read: "The members of the League agree that, if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead

to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or judicial settlement or to inquiry by the Council and they agree that they will in no case resort to war."

Article 13 (4) to read: "The members of the League agree that they will carry out in full good faith any award or decision that may be rendered. In the event of any failure to carry out such an award or decision, the Council shall propose what steps should be taken to give effect thereto."

Article 15 (6) to read: "If a report by the Council is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League agree that as against any party to the dispute that complies with the recommendations of the report they will take no action which is inconsistent with its terms."

Article 15 (7) to read: "If the Council fails to reach a report which is unanimously agreed to by the members thereof other than the representatives of one or more of the parties to the dispute, the members of the League reserve to themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice other than a resort to war."

These proposals have proved unacceptable on the general ground that any attempt to make the covenant conform to the pact of Paris—interpreted as the general "outlawry of war"—would result in a fundamental change in the whole spirit of the covenant, which specifically distinguishes between wars which may be legal and those which may not be legal. The members of the League are in no mood to attempt at this time any fundamental alteration in the covenant itself. They prefer to follow the policy, thus far observed with reasonable success, of allowing the natural course of events to determine the evolution of the League. Any proposal of this kind to alter the cove-

nant to make it conform to the pact of Paris has, therefore, very slight chance of success, largely because there exists doubt concerning the actual meaning of the pact itself.

Another proposal to reinforce the Kellogg pact is the adoption of compulsory arbitration. It is reasoned that if nations will agree to submit to arbitration all disputes without any qualifications or reservations, there can exist therefore no possible grounds for war and, it should also be added, no possible justification for armaments. Leaving aside the extremely debatable question whether nations are honestly willing to accept the settlement of all disputes by arbitration without any reservation whatever, objection has been made in League circles that the result of barring recourse to war by individual nations or groups of nations against a nation which failed to comply with a decision of compulsory arbitration would be to confer an absolute immunity for wrong-doing. This is a result few nations are willing to contemplate. In spite of these objections, the extension of the principle of arbitration unquestionably must be regarded as a guarantee of peace and therefore a means of reinforcing the pact of Paris.

France, during the London naval disarmament conference, suggested that in the event of any threat to international peace the signatory parties of the Paris pact would agree to consult immediately concerning the measures which might be required to insure respect for its provisions. The necessity of some form of concerted action was vividly shown at the time of the threatened war between Russia and China over the Chinese Eastern Railway in 1929. It was then generally recognized that the mediation or intervention of one of the signatory powers—in this case the United States—might not prove sufficiently impressive.

The need of consultation is logical

and inexorable. The difficulty with the French proposition at London, however, was that it was linked up with an agreement to disarm. The United States could not possibly bind itself to enter upon a consultation that implied an obligation to take part in any coercive measures the other signatory parties might think required by the circumstances. It is the same kind of a difficulty that arose in connection with Article X of the covenant which seemed to imply most definitely an obligation on the part of the United States to aid any nation threatened with the loss of its independence and territory.

However we may differ with respect to the wisdom of American policy toward Europe, it would seem clear that the American people have decided overwhelmingly, irrespective of party politics, to maintain the traditional policy of complete freedom of action with respect to European political controversies. Until that policy is changed any proposition for a consultation of the signatory powers to the Paris pact which would require active participation by the United States in coercive measures against a nation alleged to have violated the pact is entirely unacceptable. There would appear to be no valid reason, however, to justify the United States in refusing to enter upon a consultation *to determine the facts* in any situation which may arise. This would seem peculiarly incumbent upon the United States as the nation most responsible for the adoption of the Paris pact.

A much more serious proposition for the reinforcement of the pact and of the covenant of the League is that the United States should agree to acquiesce in any coercive measures adopted by the League against a nation alleged to have committed an act of war. Great moral pressure is being exerted upon the United States in support of this proposition. We are told that it is a logical inference from the

Paris pact that the United States must never permit itself to be placed in the position of abetting an international outlaw, and that the failure of the United States to make such a declaration is the greatest obstacle in the way of the campaign against war.

So long as the United States maintains its present policy the members of the League of Nations are free to place all the blame for their own failures to agree among themselves upon the shoulders of the United States; if we were a member of the League, they would have no one to blame but themselves. But any careful study of the voluminous and thorough discussion going on among the European nations with respect to the whole field of disarmament, arbitration and security will reveal that there are plenty of solid reasons for their failures to agree, entirely apart from the attitude of the United States. Much foreign condemnation of the policy of the United States must be attributed either to ill will or to diplomatic exigencies.

In the light of what has preceded it would appear reasonably certain that the United States cannot be expected to permit other nations to determine its line of action in any situation which may seem to imperil peace. This is primarily because the United States is not a member of the League and has no present intention of becoming a member. It is due also to a genuine distrust on the part of the American people concerning the nature of the causes of European controversies, prejudices, dislikes and hatreds.

The American people do not desire to be drawn into any discussions of such disputes. They regard certain of the decisions of the Paris peace conference with much disfavor, notably those relating to the boundaries of Central Europe and the Polish Corridor. They prefer to reserve the right and the moral obligation to de-

termine themselves the facts and the merits of each controversy as it may arise. Furthermore, the United States would view with alarm any attempt in the name of the League to interfere with the normal trade and intercourse of the American people with other peoples. They cannot authorize in advance any measures which might seriously injure American interests, particularly if, as might easily happen, they were not convinced of the justice of decisions by the League against another nation.

In spite of all these objections, however, it would seem as if the United States were morally bound to clarify its position with respect to coercive measures, either under the covenant or the Paris pact. We cannot allow it to be said with any possible show of justification that we would willingly permit ourselves to be deliberately the abettor or the accomplice of an international outlaw.

There is one salient characteristic of American psychology which must ever be taken into account in treating of international relations. It is the conviction that in all human relations more is to be accomplished by conciliation than by coercion. Applying this principle to international relations, the American people view with evident distrust and disfavor any propositions which suggest the use of coercive measures against a nation

which may or may not have good grounds for believing in the justice of its cause.

Great encouragement is to be found in the gradual acceptance of the general principle of conciliation, as evidenced by numerous treaties and agreements to seek by commissions of inquiry and conciliation to determine, not merely the facts of a given situation, but also to discover, if possible, the most appropriate and the most effective means of finding a satisfactory settlement of the disputes involved. The method is ready at hand and calls for frequent testing of its value. Here again the United States has shown its constructive leadership in proposing fifteen years ago the Bryan treaties for the employment of conciliatory methods for the settlement of international disputes. "Up to the signature of the pact," said President Hoover in his Armistice Day speech, "our country was bound by arbitration treaties to seven other nations. It was bound to twenty-six nations by conciliation treaties, both bilateral and multilateral. Since that time we have completed treaties with fifteen more countries, and in addition we have signed further arbitration and conciliation treaties with forty-five nations of which twenty-six have been ratified and the others are either before the Senate or in course of presentation to it."

Elihu Root

By CLAUDE G. BOWERS

Author of "Jefferson and Hamilton" and "The Tragic Era"

TIME has a ruthless way of re-appraising men great in their generation, and many a resounding fame that promised to reverberate through the ages has died away. But here and there we find a man now living that we may reasonably assume will have a permanent place in history. Such a one is Elihu Root. Cold, intellectual, and lacking in personal magnetism of the sort that reaches the crowd, without eccentricities or a colorful personality, he is not the sort about whom myths will be built. It would be difficult to create a Root cult. That is reserved for the Disraelis and the Lincolns. Root's claim on history must rest on solid achievement alone.

In sheer intellectual force no one of his generation has excelled him. In solidity of character he is a figure of granite. His career at the bar and in public life has been built upon a foundation of intensive preparation. His genius in disregarding all but the essentials, from youth on, rooted him from the beginning in the fundamentals. His philosophy, whether we accept it or not, has been imbedded in first principles.

This assured him distinction almost from the moment when, in 1867, at the age of 22, he was called to the bar. He rose rapidly in the corporation field, and grew steadily. The secret of his renown at the bar probably is found in his mastery of the philosophy and the first principles of the law. In the preparation of his cases, he delegated no duties. He himself ascertained the facts. Armed with

these, he sought and found the law principle that applied; and where the facts had not been covered by a case already adjudged, he sought the principle he thought could be made to operate upon them. Hard work plus a profound mastery of first principles lifted him in time to the pinnacle of his profession. It was to serve him in statesmanship as well.

That, however, promises little for the permanence of his fame. The triumphs of the lawyer are less abiding than those of the jurist. Private controversies are not the material of history. Even where private controversies lead to the enunciation of a new rule of law, and thus make history, it is the decision rather than the brief that is the monument.

A Republican of the Hamiltonian school, he interested himself in politics without becoming a prominent actor until late in life. An ultra-conservative, devoted to the status quo, he was for some years the intellectual leader and the adviser of the minor managers that played more spectacular rôles. But his very conservatism makes his political career unfertile for the historian. He has had no large personal following such as belongs to more colorful and picturesque personalities; he had no organization, and in practical politics was almost a cipher. In the political field he loomed large as the closet adviser of his party and as its spokesman on some notable occasions such as in national conventions. He was frequently the prompter from the wings. But he saw inferior

men advanced over him to the Presidency because his party feared the effect on the masses of his professional associations with the corporations and of his reputation for being not only conservative but reactionary. We need not inquire into the fidelity of this picture; it is the picture millions had. Intellectually honest and courageous, Root never interested himself in the popularity of his views. One of his most notable speeches, reflecting perfectly the real policy of the dominant wing of his party, was published for campaign circulation and then hastily withdrawn. Thus in politics his fame is necessarily ephemeral.

In the Senate (1909-1915) Root had no interest in the multitude of minor matters that necessarily engage the Congressional mind. His notable speeches were always heard by his colleagues with profound respect, but the galleries were not impressed. He talked above their heads. His was the eloquence of intellect and not emotion. The perfection of his diction, his genius for the precise word and phrase and the machinelike operation of his logic were lost on the many. His weak, unmusical voice, his corrugated brow did not appeal to the superficial. And yet some of his speeches reached the highest level of power and independence. His greatest, most courageous and historic actions in the Senate were in repudiation of his party's strategy. He justified the Wilsonian policy of non-intervention in Mexico and supported the Wilsonian demand for the repeal of the Panama tolls. These are a part of his claim on history—his unvarying insistence on the law, the treaty, the plighted faith. He was such an impossible politician that he would not trade his country's fidelity for a party triumph. His Senatorial career, in which he was not entirely happy, is not his claim to permanent renown.

And yet he has a claim that will certainly be allowed. He had been at the bar for thirty years, and was no longer young when in 1899, at the conclusion

of the war with Spain, he was invited by McKinley into his Cabinet as Secretary of War. When he remonstrated that he knew nothing about military matters, the real and as yet unappreciated statesmanship of the President appeared in the response. It was not a soldier that was needed but a statesman, a law-giver, a trail maker, a creator of precedents. For better or for worse, we had come into possession of the Philippines and Porto Rico, and for a time Cuba would be upon our hands. The mere suppression of armed insurrection—Lawton and MacArthur could attend to that; but it required a statesman of prescience and vision to formulate plans of government in our new possessions, to reconcile, in so far as it were possible, our old traditions with our new necessities. This was to be the work of Root.

The task he then undertook was as delicate, as far-reaching in its possibilities, as that of the framers of our fundamental law. It called for courageous, audacious, enlightened statesmanship; it required a profound knowledge of government and law, as well as imagination and diplomacy. Mr. Root was handed a great lump of unworked clay and told to fashion it into something that could command lasting confidence and respect. No American model was at hand. No American rules had ever been made. There was tragedy lurking in the chance of error. And then it was that Elihu Root first anchored his name to history. He created the framework of our new imperialism, and into the pattern of our destiny he worked the Philippines, Porto Rico and Cuba, without too badly marring the symmetry. First he planned for stability and order; that assured, he planned an experimental laboratory in which the Filipinos might prepare themselves for the greatest possible measure of self-government. This meant the earliest possible displacement of military by civil authority that would have autonomous civil government as its goal. When the Taft commission went to the Philip-

piners for this purpose it was Root who drafted the instructions down to minute details so wisely and meticulously that McKinley changed but a single word. The plan provided for the establishment of municipal governments in which the natives could experiment in self-government. Behind this was a program of education, and beyond this participation in the municipal government, and finally in the higher administrative divisions. Adhering as much as possible to traditional American ideals, he proposed that natives should be preferred to Americans in the government. And it was he who insisted that the rights and personal liberties of the people should be as rigidly safeguarded as those of Americans at home.

Imperialism—that he had to accept; colonialism—that he did not create, but he did devise the most liberal government of that sort in the world. He was the law-giver of our imperialism, the framer of our colonial policy. He, more than any other, was the constructive statesman of our new departure.

In Cuba Root's work was quite as historic, for here, too, he had to break new ground. We found ourselves temporarily in military possession of foreign territory, and our honor was pledged to leave in due time. He, more than any other, brought order out of the chaos there and perfected the civil organization that was the condition precedent to our withdrawal. His instructions to those on the ground were that a republican form of government should be created that would furnish protection to life, property and liberty and give assurance of the discharge of international obligations. But that was not enough. Our participation in the liberation of Cuba imposed upon us an obligation to the world and to ourselves as well as to the Cuban people. Having driven Spain out and warned away all other nations, we took upon ourselves the duty of seeing that our ward respected its international commitments. That

meant that we could not be indifferent to the peace and stability of the government within. It was Root who laid down the rules that were to be incorporated in the Platt amendment the wisdom of which has been vindicated by events.

Had he done nothing more than create the government of the Philippines, define their place within our system and supervise the establishment of an independent government in Cuba, subject only to the provisions of the Platt amendment, Root would rank high among the constructive statesmen of America. But, strangely enough, this lawyer and statesman also had constructive ideas as to the army, and as Secretary of War, he left the imprint of his genius upon that institution. It was he who reorganized the army on a scientific basis through the creation of the General Staff, with a chief of staff and competent assistants to work continuously upon plans to be used in the event of war. This called for a more intensive training of officers at the army posts; and, for this purpose, an Army War College where officers of promise might supplement their studies at West Point and at army posts in a still higher school. The General Staff—that is a souvenir of Root; the War College on the Potomac—that is a monument to him, proclaimed as such on a granite tablet at the door. This is of the stuff of history. Few men, if any, who have held the War portfolio have made such an indelible impression upon the service.

But of infinitely more value to humanity are Root's services through the years in the interest of peaceable adjudication of international disputes, and these constitute his highest claim on history. We do not know the genesis of his interest in international relations, but as a student, he came under the influence of David Dudley Field, whose *Outlines of an International Code* evidently made an impression on his early thinking. We do

know that when, past middle age, the opportunity came to press his views on international affairs, he moved with the confidence and finesse of a Balfour with the blood of centuries of diplomacy in his veins. He became a veteran overnight, or so it seemed. His training in courts and in the law impressed him with the possibility or necessity of substituting among nations, as among individuals, laws for whims, courts for battlefields, the adjudication of reason for that of the sword. He knew that the stability, the very preservation of civilized society, is threatened by wasteful wars. He understood that amicable conversations, in an atmosphere not yet charged with the electricity of passion, may accommodate the differences of peoples. He stood for law; for the ascertainment of facts; for conferences upon the law and the facts; and, failing that, he envisioned courts for the peaceable determination of the threatening issue. That was the ideal he carried into his public life.

Perhaps more than any other American statesman in generations Root had a vision that penetrated to the inevitable controversies of the years ahead. Our American theory has been that sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof. Our policy has been to postpone the problem until the crisis comes. Probably more than any other American diplomat he resembled the far-seeing, far-reaching Burleighs of English diplomacy. Hating war, having faith in the adjudication of reason, he knew that when the crisis comes, reason takes flight. We have numerous instances where he raised an issue when the disputed point was still enveloped in serenity. His policy as Secretary of War and subsequently as Secretary of State (1905-1909) was to go ahead and remove obstacles in the path of peace when negotiations could be calm and friendly. The greatest statesman is he who thinks in terms of the day after tomorrow.

Thus, when gold seekers were pushing into Alaska, he foresaw the ultimate dispute over the Alaskan boundary. The issue was snugly sleeping. He raised the question, persuaded the British to arbitration by an international commission, and the boundary was settled at London in 1903, without friction or feeling. Thus he foresaw the dire possibilities of an armed conflict in Morocco between Germany and France, and helped precipitate the Algéciras Conference of January, 1906, at which an agreement was reached which von Bülow pronounced a "great service to the peace of the world."

Thus, with no controversy in immediate or early prospect over the fishery question in the North Atlantic, he knew that a crisis would ultimately come when reasonable adjudication would be more difficult; and so he raised the question in an atmosphere of peace, and through arbitration at The Hague in 1910, as chief counsel for the United States, he effected a settlement that removed that dangerous question for all time.

Thus he observed that, contrary to popular belief, there was some doubt as to the boundary line between this country and our northern neighbor which might, in some remote future, involve the nations in a bitter controversy. He raised the question, and through the sympathetic cooperation of James Bryce this was amicably determined for the future.

These instances suffice to indicate his wise, rare foresight. And it was this foresight, all too rare, that through many years impelled him to seek a more perfect understanding with Latin America, to create the machinery for the adjudication of disputes, and to forestall a competitive arming among these southern neighbors that would convert the southern continent into an inflammable armed camp. His Latin-American policy alone would anchor him to history. This policy had more than one phase. Primarily he sought the elimination of the old distrust of our ambitions by

a clear redefinition of our hopes and purposes.

Always that—the law, the court, the arbitrament of reason, the peace of nations.

It was his literal passion for the permanent establishment of amicable and cooperative relations among all the American nations that gave such significance to his South American tour in 1906. He left the imprint of his sincerity everywhere. His purpose was expressed in his Rio de Janeiro speech: "Let us unite in creating and maintaining and making effective an all-American public opinion whose power shall influence international conduct and prevent international wrong, and narrow the causes of war, and forever preserve our free lands from the burden of such armaments as are massed behind the frontiers of Europe and bring us nearer to the perfection of ordered liberty."

If it is said that he did not bring all this about, the answer is that he did not expect to do it in his time. His greatest contribution to peace has been in directing attention to the ultimate goal, and in bringing to the consciousness of the thoughtful the crudity, the stupidity, if not the criminality of wars. Thus he told the Pan-American Conference at Rio de Janeiro that it labored "more for the future than for the present." All he hoped was that "the right impulse be given, * * * the right tendency established," to the end that the work done there might go on among the people long after the participants in that conference had died. Here again the Burleigh touch.

Again, in his instructions to Robert Bacon, setting forth on a Latin-American mission of good-will for the Carnegie Institute, he said: "The utmost that any one generation can hope to do is to promote the general change of standards of conduct. All estimates of such work and its results must be in terms, not of individual human life, but in terms of the long life of nations. Inconspicuous as are the imme-

diate results, however, there can be no nobler object of human effort than to exercise an influence upon the tendencies of a race, so that it shall move, however slowly, in the direction of civilization and humanity and away from senseless brutality."

To that end Elihu Root has made a great, historic contribution, and on that rest his claims on history. His retirement from office has not diminished his interest or the value of his work for peace. On the question of the League of Nations he rose above partisan pettiness and sought ratification on a compromise. His heart is with the work at Geneva, a work in harmony with his own ideals. His genius for organization is crystallized in the World Court he largely framed. One must turn many pages of history to find anything more inspiring than the spectacle of this aged statesman emerging from retirement to offer his rare talents to the cause of peace anew in his historic journey across the sea to Geneva in 1929 to persuade the nations represented there to accept the Court reservations of the Senate. He succeeded in his mission, but the Court functions without us still, owing, as he said, "to the evils visited upon us by a hateful and contentious spirit, from which may the Lord God deliver us."

For peace, the Nobel prize was his in 1912; for peace, the Woodrow Wilson prize was his in 1926; for peace, the World Court he largely molded functions now, and for the peaceable settlement of international disputes he set forces in motion in South America and throughout the world that will make for ordered liberty and tranquillity resting on justice in the years to come. The man whose name is thus written indelibly upon the pillars of the temple of peace that humanity is slowly, laboriously but surely erecting, will persist in the minds of men and will loom larger as we recede from the savageries and stupidities of war.

The Round-Table Conference On India

By EDWARD THOMPSON

[The first four weeks of the Indian round-table conference, which was opened by King George on Nov. 12, resulted in three important steps toward the solution of the Indian problem. First, the delegates agreed in writing on Nov. 20 that India's 43,000,000 Untouchables should have political equality with other castes in India's new constitution. Second, the Province of Burma with 13,000,000 inhabitants was to be separated from India. Third, the conference began the drafting of a federal constitution for India, modeled on the general lines of the United States Constitution. It was announced on Nov. 14 that the hostile Hindu and Moslem factions at the conference were working toward at least a provisional truce in order to present a united front to the British. The question of dominion status had not been settled at this writing, but the MacDonald Govern-

ment did nothing to retract its repeated promise that such was the ultimate goal. This phase of the Indian problem resolved itself into the question "How soon?" These and later developments of the round-table conference are fully discussed by Professor Slosson under "The British Empire" in the Month's World History printed elsewhere in this magazine. The following article by Mr. Thompson is an expert approach to the complex problem which India presents. The author, who was educational missionary at Bankura College, Bengal, from 1910 to 1922, is now Lecturer in Bengali at Oxford University. He is also a writer of distinction on various subjects, his most recently published book, *Reconstructing India*, being one of the most illuminating discussions of the Indian problem at present available.—Editor, CURRENT HISTORY.]

THAT a round-table conference should be held of the representatives of British India, of the native States and of the British Government, was first suggested by the Indian National Congress half a dozen years ago. The suggestion was repeated in the report drawn up by the Nehru Committee, appointed by the congress in 1928 to draw up a Constitution for India. The report, in dealing with the problem of the native States, said: "If there ever was a case for a round-table conference at which a perfect understanding could easily be reached, it was this. With the representatives of the princes, of their people, of the British Government, and of the people of British India assembled at such a conference, all dif-

ficulties could have been solved with mutual good-will." In October, 1929, the Prime Minister accepted Sir John Simon's proposal that a round-table conference should follow the publication of his commission's report, and the Viceroy announced this decision.

The suggestion made by the National Congress was a particularly happy one; it is unfortunate that the congress has declined to participate in the conference now being held. Nevertheless, the conference personnel includes many Indian political leaders who were congress stalwarts in former years and are distinguished for zealous service to the Nationalist cause. Among them are Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who signed the Nehru report in 1928; Mr. Jinnah, who was a

leader in the boycott of the Simon Commission; and Mr. Mohammad Ali, who was leader in the Khilafat agitation begun a dozen years ago and Mr. Gandhi's principal colleague in the non-cooperation movement. No one supposes that the cause of Indian self-determination or self-respect will suffer, with such advocates as these, and others whom I have not named.

The necessity of a reconstruction of India that in many ways must be drastic and in all ways must be courageous, is widely realized; the round-table conference can be only a beginning of this process, which has been so long delayed. The inward truth of the Indian situation is that the *pax Britannica* has held a territory, as large as the United States without Texas and containing a population of 330,000,000, static during seventy years in which the outside world has experienced upheaval and enormous change. India has thus remained in the prison of her old political, social and intellectual systems, though internally there has been organic decay in every department, whether of thought or action. There has been no way of getting rid of this organic decay, either by war or by vigorous political measures. A subcontinent has been rotting inwardly; and no mere palliatives will any longer avail.

During the last dozen years the Indian Nationalists have been able to postpone many of their own problems, the excitement of combating the government serving as a bond between many warring elements. Yet even they have had to face certain internal questions, notably those of the communal quarrels (especially of Hindus and Moslems) and of what is to be done for the depressed classes commonly known as Untouchables. They have imitated the government in appointing committees and commissions and in passing resolutions, but are no nearer solution of their troubles. As for the government, aware

that it was passing through a time of transition, it has been fumbling and uncertain and, as has been indicated, has appointed one commission after another. The commissions have been largely a shelving of problems. At last a round-table conference has become a necessity, where East and West may meet in equal council.

In 1917 Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, announced dominion status as the goal of a process of progressive self-government. This process was initiated in 1921, its leading principle being dyarchy or division of government. Previously the central government and the governments of the ten great provinces had been in the hands of small executive councils, advised by legislative councils, but not responsible to them. A certain number of portfolios in the provinces, but not in the central government, were now transferred to Indian Ministers, who were definitely responsible to the legislatures, which themselves were now mainly elected. This new system, dyarchy, has been condemned generally, though (as I think) unfairly and often in ignorance. We can see the difficulty of having Ministers, some responsible and others not, working side by side; and many details of the system are open to objection. Nevertheless, the system went far further in the direction of self-government than the genuine "imperialist" even today thinks tolerable; and it is not easy to suggest, even now, any better scheme for a partial and progressive transference of power. Where both sides acted in good faith, dyarchy did fairly well. In the Province of Madras, for example, the Governor made the Executive Councilors (two British and two Indian) meet in one Cabinet with the three Indian Ministers. That is, the province was governed by five Indians and three British.

The truth is, dyarchy failed not from its own inherent flaws, so far as it has failed, but for psychological reasons. It came in the time of unex-

amplified strain and feverish bad temper which followed the war. In 1919 murder and arson were suppressed by the shocking action of a British General, who at Amritsar shot down a mob gathered in a tiny square from which escape was almost impossible. Dyarchy began amid passions and angers, and a great part of political India withdrew indignantly and refused to cooperate. When the non-cooperators, at the second election in 1923, entered the Legislatures, it was only to obstruct and, as far as possible, to make business and government impossible.

It is easy to see what have been the mistakes of the past year. When Mr. Gandhi started his "salt tax protest march" it was at first a failure. In the end it was not a failure, for it roused such a fury of opposition as the government had never encountered before. This success was for two reasons, both of which might have been foreseen. First, Indian "big business" threw itself into the struggle and thereby provided the Nationalist movement with such finances as it had never dreamed of having. In February, 1930, the government in the Central Legislature introduced the principle of imperial preference; cotton goods were to be taxed 15 per cent if British, 20 per cent if from other parts of the world. The distinction might easily have been justified on other than imperial grounds, for the factory laws of Japan, India's principal competitor, allow of the employment of women on night shifts, an advantage which has been calculated by the Indian Tariff Board as equivalent to 5 per cent *ad valorem*. But the folly of asking for the principle of imperial preference to be conceded in a time of such tension ought to have been obvious. Incredible as it seems, it was not; and the Indian cotton millionaires threw their funds into the scale against the government.

The second reason for Mr. Gandhi's success was that the women emerged from their immemorial obscurity and

became as active as the men. They have picketed the European shops for weeks on end, preventing customers from entering; they have swarmed into schools and colleges, and to students who sought to pursue their studies they have offered their bangles, as during the war girls in England offered white feathers to young men not in khaki. This, too, was not foreseen; yet to any one aware of the temper of Indian women and of the very considerable extent to which they had assisted Mr. Gandhi's non-cooperation, at any rate after 1923, it should have been obvious.

These two auxiliaries, big business and the women, made the movement swell beyond anything the government was prepared for. The Nationalists surged forward into salt factories or other forbidden territory, unarmed and unresisting, yet pressing still forward, forward, with squads of ambulance attendants waiting behind like a Red Cross service. A government, even its opponents should admit, has to act in defense of its own laws. The police knocked the Nationalists down, as in other countries they disperse Communist meetings. It is hard to see what else they could do. But people who have once seen their countrymen courting martyrdom and being struck down will never feel the same again; and they will judge the government to be in the wrong, whatever its case may be.

Against the other side we have to note that it is very hard to believe that the National Congress ever wanted a peaceful settlement. They demand, and always have demanded, absolute perfection in the government and all its agents. If a single mistake is made—whether it is the appalling brutality of one officer whom ill luck had placed where in five minutes he could do more mischief than a hundred wise and humane men could repair in ten years, or the mere stupidity of asking for a 5 per cent preference to British goods—then that mistake is made the justification of re-

fusing to meet in conference until the end of time. One may surely ask, Is the government never to be allowed to make a mistake, or is it to be damned always and on every pretext? Mr. Gandhi, on his part, has made the mistake of mixing up primary and secondary demands—of insisting that various complicated reforms be enforced, instead of concentrating on dominion status, which would put all the other things in India's own hands.

Other mistakes, hardly less serious, may be indicated. The greatest is the refusal to enter the round-table conference. If the British Government does as it has promised, that is, leave procedure entirely to the will of the conference, we shall see a self-governing India emerge, and the extremists will in no long time be dealing not with an alien government but with their own exasperated countrymen.

The rousing of lawlessness is another mistake. This has brought Bengal face to face with the return of the anarchy that certain districts knew in the agitation of twenty-five years ago. That anarchy is a vivid memory, and many in Bengal are terrified at the spectre they have called up, and loyalty to the congress is strained. Any one who wants a revolver can get one in Bengal. Revolvers command fancy prices and can be bought from the many foreign ships that enter the Hugli. Revolvers are in the hands of excitable youths; and if anarchy comes, it will mean civil war, in a province of 47,000,000 people who are Hindus and Moslems in almost equal numbers.

There are four conceivable courses in this Indian problem.

There is, first, that of the firm hand, of repression and a return to autocracy. Very few indeed advocate this. It is realized that you cannot shoot a people down, least of all a people whose women are in the front of the battle. There is no desire to shoot them down. Further, the British cannot afford to enter upon repression.

The Indian movement has gone so far that to suppress it by force would cost another 10 per cent income tax, when already the British taxpayer pays 22½ per cent. And British trade has gone down steadily for a dozen years at an average rate of 2 per cent a year. You cannot sell in a hostile market. If anger continues, there will soon be no trade for anybody.

The second course is, Britain could "walk out" of India. An increasing number of Englishmen wish she would. But she cannot, and even now extremely few Indians desire that she should.

The third course is to apply a few trivial readjustments and allow the situation to continue in its present simmering, wrathful state. This is on all sides felt to be intolerable.

The fourth course, a settlement by consent, is what the round-table conference has set itself to achieve.

It is widely believed that it is impossible for Great Britain to "walk out" of India because of her naval commitments and her trade interests. This is not so. A glance at the map will show a rock-bound coast line of 6,000 miles, useless to a naval power. All that Britain needs to safeguard her communications with Australia is to hold the one good harbor in the Indian region, that of Trincomali in Ceylon. She could do this, or she could hold the Maldives and Laccadives and have all she required and never bother about India. As to trade, since you cannot trade in a hostile market, any settlement would be better than present conditions. If an independent India could keep any sort of order, British trade would do far better than it does at present. As to British investments, these would be safe enough, unless India relapsed into chaos. An India which repudiated the debt on her railways and canals and roads, as the National Congress threatens to repudiate it, would be financially ruined. She would find no lenders when she asked for money, as she would be bound to ask before long.

As for direct employment, there are at present about 3,500 British officials in all the higher services put together, another 3,500 British officers in the Indian Army of 154,000 men, and another 800 sergeants (ex-soldiers of the British Army) employed to drill and instruct the Indian police.

From this summary it will be seen that the one reason why Britain must go from India gradually is that a sudden withdrawal would mean a second China. This would mean the ruin of British investments in India. But it would mean the ruin of all other investments also; it would in no way add to the world's happiness to have a second centre of chaos; it would mean misery inside India and the loss of British self-respect and reputation with the outside world.

There is very little, so far as British material interests go, to make an independent India undesirable, if one strong enough to insure an ordered government could be evolved. There are two reasons against absolute independence now and forthwith. These are India's communal quarrels and India's defense. The Hindu-Moslem tension has greatly increased with the introduction of a measure of self-government. There are now posts of distinction and emolument to be contended for, positions of power and responsibility. The tension has been greatly increased by the *suddhi* and *sangatthan* movements of Hinduism. The former—*suddhi* means "purification"—seeks to reclaim to Hinduism converts to Christianity or Islam. The latter movement teaches young Hindus the use of the *lathi* (single-stick), that they may be effective in Hindu-Moslem riots. In the terrible Calcutta riots of five years ago the Moslems for the first time lost more heavily than the Hindus. This communal problem is not only between Hindus and Moslems. It is complicated by memories of old national glories. The Sikhs, though only 3,000,000 out of the Punjab's 20,000,-

000, remember their magnificent fighting record, never greater than in the hour of their defeat by the British in the battles of 1845 to 1848. The Marathas remember that the rule of India was passing into their hands when the British came upon the scene.

As to defense, it is both external and internal. The defense of India against invasion could be successfully undertaken by a united India. But a divided India would be helpless against the foes of her northwest frontier. The main problem of defense lies in the fact that the Indian Army is so local in its recruiting. Half of its numbers come from one province, the Punjab; Bengal, with 47,000,000 people, is one of several provinces that contribute nothing to the Indian Army. It is asking too much of human nature to expect one or two provinces to bear the burden of defending the whole of India and of keeping internal order amid its warring sections, without abusing this position of power. The Nationalist must contribute, as part of his share in the reconstruction of India, a rousing of the whole country to the necessity of each province helping in work that the more intellectual provinces feel to be irksome. While the British Army is being withdrawn from India, the "Indianising" of the army that remains must be pushed ahead, and there must be recruitment from other than the races hitherto recognized as martial.

To the communal difficulty, that presented by the Princes must be added. Outside British India are States that cover 40 per cent of the total territory and include nearly a quarter of the population. The Princes are tenacious of their treaty rights with Great Britain. They consider there have been infringements of these, and they object also to the tariffs of British India, which increase the cost of all imported goods, but bring them no revenue themselves (since they have no seaports that matter). They desire to come into a federated India,

to have a voice in tariff policy and to get back their old independence which suffered when confronted by the strong British power. Here we at once see conflicting aims, for the politicians of British India desire to influence the actions and administration of the Princes and to compel them to enter on the same path of democratic institutions as the British Government has entered. Each side, native and British India, desires to gain without conceding power. There is this further complication, that the Princes stand for agricultural India, while it is Indian business that supplies the funds and much of the determination behind Mr. Gandhi's movement.

If these primary problems—defense, the different communal interests, the Princes and British India—are settled, this is a beginning only. The whole frame of India needs reconstruction from top to bottom. Indian thought and social practice are out of date and outside India "scandalize her name." Territorial reconstruction is urgent. The provinces are haphazard and accidental agglomerations and far too huge for any genuine democracy to operate in them. The last century has seen the emergence of many centres of national consciousness, developed along the lines of the vernaculars. India has at least a dozen vernaculars of first-rate importance; you cannot have a century of intense activity in these, without each vernacular proving a bond of pride and common thought. In the reconstruction of the provinces lines of language must be followed and new nations helped to rise out of the constrictions of an artificial territorial arrangement. For example, the Marathi-speaking people are divided, some living under Princes, others under British India.

There must be financial reconstruction. The total revenue of central and provincial governments together is \$800,000,000, an absurdly trivial sum to suffice for the needs of 330,000,000

people. Mr. Gandhi is logical, for, while he would reduce this sum to half by abolishing the income from excise, the salt tax and the land tax, he is prepared to see India lapse back to primitive conditions, and he does not desire roads, railways, schools and colleges and hospitals. But the advanced Nationalists are not logical, for they attack the items of revenue just mentioned, and at the same time demand as good an educational system as England or America has, first-rate roads, railways, and even money for such "frills" as civil aviation. It cannot be done on a total taxation from all sources, including tariffs, of \$2.50 a head. The round-table conference will sow the seeds of a certain crop of anger and disillusion if it disperses without facing the whole question of India's financial and economic position.

The conference, at this writing, has begun its sittings, and for many weeks past the princes and the delegates of British India have been meeting informally. The appalling complexity and difficulty of the task lies upon all like a black shadow. The princes are the most united delegacy; they know what they want, they stand together, they can enforce most of their wishes as the price of coming into a federated India that without them will be helpless. The delegates of British India are finding their communal differences almost insoluble; and from India their co-religionists are sending resolutions that forbid the Hindus to yield an inch to the Moslems, or the Moslems to yield an inch to the Hindus. The statesmen among them are aware of a future more threatening than the outside world even yet imagines.

The British die-hard who speaks of the Nationalist movement as confined to a handful of intelligentsia is hopelessly wrong. The Congress, though a minority, has proved that it can lead the people. But where will the leading end? The day has passed when a revolutionary movement could be dealt

with ruthlessly; and the British people are in no mood to apply or to tolerate ruthlessness. Lawlessness has gone further than any but the Indians themselves realize. India is faced with the break-up of her social system.

The man who is the *beau ideal* of Young India, both boys and girls, is not Mr. Gandhi—revered as he is, and impressive to the outside world as he is known to be—but Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. When Mr. Gandhi uses the word "independence" he does not mean independence; Pandit Jawaharlal does mean it; he is fired with passion for a régime in which every kind of oppression, especially the oppression that comes from inequality of wealth, is absent. He is an enthusiastic Communist.

Crowded into India are 330,000,000 people, and the vast majority of them are starving. Since the mutiny of 1857 India has doubled her population; part of this increase has come by annexations, but far the larger part has been natural. The signs are, unless Indian thought and domestic practice are revolutionized, that in the year 2000 A. D. India will have 600,000,000 people.

The settlement of the political problem between India and Britain, though the most immediately pressing one, is a trifle compared to the problems that are already looming out of the shadow of the future. This political problem must be got out of the way, not as the all-important thing that outside opinion thinks it, but as comparatively unimportant. It will be a disaster for the whole world if it is allowed to go

simmering on. The first war of the "haves" and the "have-nots" came in Russia; China followed; India will be the third arena of this struggle, and in no other land is natural increase so terrifying and poverty so great. In future, Britain can do little as a restraining power; it is India herself that must control and check.

The dangers of the round-table conference lie chiefly in the difficulty of India's own sons in coming to an agreement among themselves and in the temptation to concentrate on the showier side of the political question, to pass resolutions as to education for all, better roads and public buildings, a higher standard of living, and to ignore such questions as where the money is to come from or how India is to be kept from lapsing into anarchy. Only in one way can Britain play her part adequately, and that is by as generous a handing over of power as possible, not one dictated by a cautious consideration of what is expedient. Such a handing over, after the first outburst of denunciation and misrepresentation, would—it is the only hope—detach the genuinely moderate elements of the Congress party and make a strong central party. But no settlement will ever be accepted by the real extremists. Confronted by them, India will have to choose between settling with them more drastically than the foreigner ever dared to do, or else letting a fifth of the human race disintegrate into a confusion of wretched and warring communities.

LONDON, November, 1930.

Living Conditions of India's Masses

By CHARLES F. STRICKLAND

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GREATER than all the political problems and aspirations of India is the economic problem—the struggle of the rural masses to obtain food which will keep them and their families alive, and the continual tendency of those families to outgrow the means of subsistence. "Everything," said the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India (1928), "which we have advocated for the material advancement of the people will merely postpone the effects of the growing pressure of the population on the soil. No lasting improvement in the standard of living of the great mass of the population can possibly be attained if every enhancement in the purchasing power of the cultivator is to be followed by a proportionate increase in the population."

Such, too, has been the recorded opinion of commission after commission and of many careful observers, Indian and European. To the Moslem a son is a cause of congratulation and pride; to the Hindu he is a religious necessity; and throughout the length and breadth of India a comparatively early marriage is the rule.

The great bulk of the Indian population is rural. There are only two cities of more than 1,000,000 inhabitants, while there are 700,000 villages with an average population of 400. Nearly 300,000,000 persons live in the

countryside, and five-sixths of them are directly dependent on agriculture and its subsidiary occupations. The Indian is therefore a countryman and a peasant. The town is to him a place of discomfort, though also of excitement. To the town he goes for occasional amusement, for litigation and other forms of extravagance. But ordinarily he remains in his home, the cluster of thatched or earth-roofed huts which stand beside his temple, his mosque or the brick house of his money-lender.

This is his world, and whatever happens outside it concerns him very little, save when a rumor of some unwelcome action by a government or the injunction of a far-famed saint moves him to a temporary agitation. At other times he is a docile person, industrious but unduly conservative, loyal to his religion and traditions but embracing in his loyalty many superstitions which were better discarded. His health is poor, because, being illiterate, he fails to grasp the ideas of hygiene which are presented to him by the touring staff of the government. He remains illiterate because education does not appear to him to increase his income and has therefore little value in his eyes. Moreover, his poverty prevents the government from taxing him more heavily and thus providing a school in every village.

The Indian is really poor, and this

basic fact of poverty supplies the key to the troubles of the Indian countryside. The average farm contains only five cultivated acres, and so fast as the digging of a new canal or the introduction of a new crop increases the amount or the value of the produce, the population also pushes up, and the customary subdivision of each farm among all the sons of a family holds down the standard of living.

Where improved varieties of seed or better implements of cultivation have been accepted by the people, a marked rise in the peasant's income may temporarily occur. About 10,000,000 out of 325,000,000 acres of land have been thus improved. The added produce is estimated to be worth \$45,000,000 in each year. If the entire area were improved the annual gain would be \$1,500,000,000. Yet to the individual peasant the increase in income is very small. An acre of wheat may yield him 12 bushels; the outturn of rice is below 1,000 pounds per acre; cotton will give 100 pounds of lint; one acre at least is under fodder crops for his oxen, and one may be fallow; a little home-made butter may be sold or a pittance earned by labor in the idle season.

But when all has been summed up, \$30 will be a liberal estimate for his annual income per head—some Indian writers place the figure much lower—and crops will fail if the rains do not fall in due season. In irrigated areas the Indian is more secure and may be happier, but the growth of his family soon brings him down to the margin of subsistence, and the average holding in Bengal is as low as three acres, with a rural population in many districts exceeding 600 to the square mile. The population of British India, excluding the native States, has risen in sixty years from 150,000,000 to 250,000,000.

Taxation, consequently, must be light. The principal burden is the land tax, a traditional impost dating from ancient Hindu days and elab-

orated by the Moslem conquerors. The ruler claims a share of the produce as the ultimate owner of the soil, and though the excessive demands made on the cultivator in centuries of disorder sometimes amounted to one-half of the entire crop, a sixth was more usually taken, and the commuted cash levy of the British Government averages only 50 cents per acre, or perhaps a thirtieth part of the yield.

The peasant pays no other direct charges, and all agricultural income is exempt from income tax. The customs duty on imported cloth, the excise on opium and liquor, enhance the price of these articles if he wishes to use them, but homespun yarn, made into *khaddar* (cloth) by the village weaver, is warmer and cheaper than its more fashionable rival. Stamp duties are paid in case of litigation and on land transfers; a trifling cess is added to the land tax by the local boards. Salt also bears a tax, this again being an inheritance from the earliest times in history. It is levied at the rate of half a cent per pound, and since the consumption of salt per head in India averages 10 pounds in a year, a family of five persons pays a total of 25 cents on this account. The rate of land tax varies from one province to another, and the total amount paid by a peasant family of five as land tax and in the form of higher charges for salt, cloth and stimulants may be taken at from \$7.50 to \$10 per annum out of an income (at \$30 per head) of \$150. It would be dangerous to extract more from so slender a purse.

The calculation is largely formal, since in practice a small cultivator does not sell his food and crops unless hard pressed by a creditor. He may even retain his cotton for domestic use. His farming is then of the "subsistence" type, and bears little relation to modern economics. Such a man will seldom handle money, save when paying his land tax to the village headman, who acts as the agent of the authorities for its collection. In the most backward districts a "subsistence"

tence" farmer will for this purpose resort to the money lender, a member of the commercial castes, usually also a grain dealer or shopkeeper, who dominates many of the villages. At other times he will buy such trifles as condiments or matches at the cost of one or two pice,* but a failure of crops may drive him to buy on credit. From that day onward he is in the usurer's hands, and escape by his own unaided effort is rare. The debt piles up at extravagant rates of compound interest, and the peasant soon learns to regard his condition with resignation. "This is our fate, and we are always so." The interest on the rural debt of India has been estimated at \$1 per annum for each cultivated acre, or exactly twice the amount of the land tax, and little of the debt has been incurred for productive purposes.

So long as the load of debt robs the peasant of the proceeds of his labor, so long as any agricultural improvement will only meet a little more of the usurer's exorbitant bill, he sees no inducement to new effort. The usurer will not let him die, but is content to extort all that the nature of the harvest allows him to pay, leaving to the nominal owner of the land a bare existence. It was not until the rural credit unions, organized under official guidance during the last twenty-five years, had spread over a large number of villages, that the Indian peasant saw any hope of independence.

There are now more than 100,000 cooperatives in India for credit, agricultural purchase and sales, cattle breeding and thrift, and wherever a group of men unite their small means and above all pledge their personal loyalty in a tiny society, they are advised and encouraged by a special staff of officers, and granted certain privileges under the law. The member-

ship is approaching 5,000,000, and the working capital \$500,000,000; the latter is a small figure for a white country, but full of meaning to the cultivator of five acres, whose needs extend only to a loan of \$15 to buy a cow or a heavier advance of \$50 to perform the marriage of his son. At the present moment one-third of this total capital represents the peasant's share money and savings; the rest is borrowed from larger cooperative banks which receive deposits for a fixed term from the public. The farmer in the management of these societies learns the elementary principles of economy and foresight, pays off the usurer with their help, and is free to look around him with a new spirit.

Hitherto the Indian peasant has been spiritless and depressed by his insolvency. But solvency does not end his troubles. The framework of Indian village life is hard set, and novel ideas are unpopular. "Such a practice was good for the great ones (our ancestors), and who are we that we should change their ways?" And so he continues to use his primitive plow—three sticks and an iron point—to sow wastefully by broadcast, and to propagate cows which give no milk. His wife is governed by custom and by religion, even by vague animist superstitions, and this is true of Hindu* and Moslem alike. Though the former close corporation of elders, the Indian *Panchayat*, no longer dominates the village as it did during the long centuries when kings were at war and legal justice was uncertain, an effective control over a recalcitrant member of the group may be exercised by prohibition of "water and the hookah," that is, a resolution of the caste or tribe neither to eat, drink nor smoke (the hookah) with the offender until he complies with the general wish. Such a power may

*The rupee (36 cents) is divided into 16 annas, each worth a little more than 2 cents. In each anna there are 4 pice (half cents) and 12 pies (one-sixth of a cent). Cowrie shells are now obsolete.

*The Hindus form only a little over half the population of India, or two-thirds if the 60,000,000 of outcasts and aborigines are included. The remainder are Moslems (70,000,000), Buddhists, Christians, Sikhs, &c.

be employed for good or evil ends. I have known it used to force a debtor to repay his dues to a credit union, and still more often to punish one who has offended against caste prejudice. It might, for instance, be directed against an impious Hindu peasant who should sell a sacred cow to a butcher or against a Moslem who should handle the accursed animal—the hog.

However, the hold of village opinion, and even the grip of the caste, on the Indian peasant is being slowly loosened by modern practices. In the schools, the trains and the road lorries (trucks) all castes and religions sit side by side, and the eyes of faith are prudently closed to any ceremonial defilement which may be due to such proximity. In several provinces of British India and in some Indian States a new village *Panchayat* or board is being organized on a legal basis, with power to try petty cases and even to levy a slight tax for sanitation; but the latter duty is honored in the breach, and the virtue of a board is voted to lie in its unwillingness to impose new burdens on the people.

The influence of religion is most clearly shown by the treatment of the cow. To the Hindu, though not to the Moslem, the cow is a holy animal, equally holy whether in respect of calves and milk she be productive or the reverse. Elimination of the unfit is therefore prohibited, and the slow starvation which results from overcrowding the common pasture of the village with useless beasts destroys first of all the finer stock which requires most food. So holy is the cow that I have seen a creature with a broken leg affectionately nursed by a Hindu peasant and his wife until its death, though its recovery was from the first impossible. The veneration is real and sincere, but complicates the economic problem. The best indigenous breeds are selected in government farms, and bulls are issued to villages which undertake the charge

of them. For this purpose, however, as for the popularization of new crop varieties, oral instruction of an illiterate peasantry is required and touring experts address meetings of mistrustful farmers. The special bull demands more and better fodder; its value is admitted, but the cost of maintenance alarms the lord of five acres. Groups are consequently formed for joint care of the animal, and some advance in cattle breeding has thus been made.

Illiteracy is perhaps the greatest barrier to progress. In all India only 14 per cent of males and 2 per cent of females were literate at the census of 1921, though some advance will be registered in 1931; rural literacy is even rarer than the figures might at first suggest. Though 10,000,000 pupils are at school, they crowd the two lower classes and only one in nine passes beyond the fourth class, in which a minimum of literacy may be obtained. Others stagnate at the bottom or return home when they are old enough to tend the cattle. Moreover, the vast majority of the pupils are boys, and a rapid change in the condition of the villages cannot be expected until the women as well as the men are educated. The men mix to some extent with the outer world; the majority of peasant women do not leave their homes once in a year. They are extremely ignorant and few new ideas reach them. Marriage takes place in youth and the birth of children is frequent; lack of hygiene secures also a high ratio of deaths. If the girls were taught in school, they would marry later and demand more of their husbands and of life. Children would receive better care and the darkness of the home influence would be dispelled.

It is not necessary to believe, as do certain thinkers among orthodox Hindus and Moslems, that the high standard of rural morality would be lowered, even in India's hot climate, by later marriages. In any case it is worth risking, and the Indian Legislature has recently enacted that no

girl may hereafter be married under the age of 14 and no boy under 18 years.

Enforcement in the countryside is not simple, and only the activity of educated women preaching in the villages will save the act from becoming a dead letter. Unfortunately education costs money, and the entry of girls into the rural schools, even if under a system of co-education they are taught with their mothers, will mean larger schools and more teachers. Moreover, compulsion will be necessary, and rural India is not yet ready for the compulsory education of girls.

Adult education is another road forward. Women's institutes are springing up and have become numerous in the villages of Bengal. The women are taught to sew, to read, to cook and to study simple rules of health. In other provinces they are invited to baby shows and health weeks, where, though they may be confused by what they see and hear, they meet each other and exchange comments. Education for the men is easier. Night schools and rural libra-

ries are being multiplied, cinemas on trucks and lecturers with lantern-slides tour in the most unlikely spots. Discretion is needed in the form of the teaching. Some American slides, illustrating the causes of malaria, exhibited the mosquito many times larger than life size, and repeated assurances could not bring the people to believe that this was their familiar enemy. In the end they decided that "Americans must suffer terribly from malaria if their mosquitos are as large as birds."

The framing of a constitution adapted to the needs of so backward and simple a population and also embracing the semi-independent Indian States will not be an easy task. After several days of oratory the members of the round-table conference in London have settled down to serious business and are facing the practical difficulties. But the peasants and the rural masses, over whose heads the argument proceeds, have no specific spokesmen in London, and it is eminently to be hoped that their interests will not be overlooked in the contest of political factions.

Musical Development in America

By DANIEL GREGORY MASON

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THE charge is often made against our American musical culture that it is artificial and top-heavy, imposed from above by sensitive and public-spirited individuals or minority groups on a mass essentially unmusical and inert. Our popular music, we are told, is cheap and vulgar; all our good music is made by foreigners and imported, while our own composers remain mere imitators—non-entities.

For example, in the field of opera, the really spontaneous and indigenous native works which we have enjoyed have been such light operettas as were composed delightfully, a generation ago, by Victor Herbert, or somewhat less delightfully, because more conventionally, by Reginald de Koven, and as are being seductively continued in our own day by Mr. George Gershwin. When we tried to be more "serious," as in Horatio Parker's \$10,000 prize opera *Mona*, produced at the Metropolitan Opera House in 1912, or in Mr. Walter Damrosch's *Cyrano de Bergerac* (Metropolitan, 1913), or even in Mr. Deems Taylor's highly skillful *The King's Henchman* (1926), we succeeded chiefly, as some one said of the latter, in "speaking Wagner almost without an accent," but not in being either very spontaneous or in the slightest degree native.

Yet to the devil's advocate who brings forward these embarrassing facts it may be truthfully answered

that during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth the material growth of our musical institutions, such as symphony orchestras, chamber music ensembles, choral festivals, music clubs, departments of music in schools and colleges, has been steady and impressive, and would have been impossible had there not been beneath it a genuine public interest. And of late we frequently hear the hope expressed that the stage is now at last set for a deeper and more native music expression than we have so far known. America, it is said, has today all the equipment of a sound musical culture; all that is necessary is for that culture to get, so to speak, into our blood, to become a part of us, so that we may become musically natural, easy, free from the sense of inferiority, in short, no longer merely assimilative but at last creative. What grounds have we, it may be interesting to ask, for these high hopes?

Certainly the period 1900-30 is impressive enough in the matter of the growth and dissemination of the means of musical culture. Most of the symphony orchestras of our large cities have sprung up during those three decades. Only five have been of continuous importance since before 1900—the New York Philharmonic, founded in 1842; the Chicago Orchestra started by Theodore Thomas in 1869;

the New York Symphony (Leopold Damrosch, 1878); the Boston Symphony, established in 1881 through the wide artistic vision and public spirit of Henry Lee Higginson, and the Cincinnati Orchestra, started as early as 1895 under Van der Stucken, later conducted by Stokowski, Kunwald and Ysaye, and now by Fritz Reiner. After 1900 comes great development, which may be most concisely shown here in tabular view:

YEAR.	CITY.	CHIEF CONDUCTOR.
1900.	Philadelphia.	At first Scheel.
	From 1912	Stokowski.
1903.	Minneapolis.	At first Oberhoffer.
	From 1923	Verbrugghen.
1907.	St. Louis.	Max Zach.
	(Reorganization).	
1907.	Seattle.	Karl Krueger, 1926.
1909.	San Francisco.	Alfred Hertz, 1915-1930.
1914.	Detroit.	Gabrilowitsch, since 1918.
1918.	Cleveland.	Sokoloff.
	Los Angeles.	Rodzinski.
	(Recently reorganized).	

While the older of these orchestras have been maintained largely by endowments from individuals (e. g., Boston, New York Symphony, Cincinnati), or by the shrewd and public-spirited business management of small groups (New York Philharmonic, Chicago), the younger ones for the most part depend largely on widespread subscription; and while the precariousness of the existence of some of them may be regarded as evidence of that inertia of our public mentioned above, their existence at all seems to indicate at least a certain measure of practical public interest.

A severer, possibly purer type of music even than the orchestral is chamber music for small ensembles, of which the string quartet is the norm. Naturally, string quartets prosper best under the shelter either of orchestras or of large music schools. Here again the period 1900-30 witnesses a great expansion. Before the turn of the century the only prominent chamber music organization was the Kneisel Quartet (1886), an off-

shoot of the Boston Orchestra. In 1903, however, the enthusiasm and intelligence of a New York banker, Edward J. deCoppet, a man with the spirit of a true artist, created the Flonzaley Quartet, which, with Kneisel, must always hold in the history of chamber music in America the same fundamental place that in the orchestral field is held by the New York Philharmonic, Chicago and Boston orchestras.

The influence of such organizations is literally endless; it is like the wave started by the proverbial pebble thrown into the ocean—it goes round the world and comes back again. Among more recent quartet groups fostered by orchestras are the Chicago, the Cleveland, the Minneapolis, the Verbrugghen, and the Detroit String Quartets, as well as the Jacques Gordon Quartet (whose leader left the concertmastership of the Chicago Orchestra to devote himself entirely to chamber music). Similarly, we have the Curtis Quartet fostered by the Curtis Institute in Philadelphia, the Musical Art Quartet by the Institute of Musical Art in New York, the Stradivarius Quartet by the Mannes School in New York and by Mills College, California. Admirable recent organizations that have died for lack of such protection are the Lenox, Letz and Persinger Quartets. The remarkable movement started by Mrs. F. S. Coolidge in the Pittsfield (later Washington) Chamber Music Festivals has created the Berkshire (later Festival) Quartet, and the Elshuco Trio, named from the first syllables of the names Elizabeth Shurtleff Coolidge.

Impressive by-products of the interest in chamber music are the Society for the Publication of American Music, founded by Burnet C. Tuthill in 1919, and the large amount of space given to American organizations and composers in the *Cyclopedic Survey of Chamber Music*, edited in two large volumes recently (1929) by Mr. W. W. Cobbett of London. Writing in

this work, Mr. Edwin T. Rice of New York mentions the clubs of lovers of ensemble music now forming in many of our cities. Referring to the Chamber Music Association of Philadelphia, he says: "These may be regarded as typical of the efforts which are now being made to provide assured audiences for the ensemble players touring the country. The maintenance of the various quartets, in all probability, would be very burdensome but for the support so given."

The development of choral music among us has been perhaps a little less satisfactory. Opera, especially, has always been to us an exotic and—considering the American irreverence, humor and cautious matter-of-factness—it seems likely always to remain so. Perhaps that will be no great misfortune, since of all forms of music opera is the most adulterated with non-musical elements and the least satisfactory. But choral concert music has also failed to show the phenomenal development of its instrumental cousins. The Oratorio Society, the Musical Art Society and the more recent Schola Cantorum (1908) and Friends of Music lead even in New York a somewhat precarious existence. The Litchfield County Festivals were supported by one man, Carl Stoeckel, and upon his retirement were allowed by the participating choruses to lapse. The ancient Worcester Festivals have recently been reenergized by Mr. Albert Stoessel, who is also in charge of the new and promising Westchester County Festivals at White Plains, N. Y. There are successful festivals at Evanston, Ill., Peterboro, N. H., and other places, and there is the Bach Choir at Bethlehem, Pa., again the work of one man, Mr. J. Fred Wolle.

Yet, despite the impressive growth of our musical institutions during the first thirty years of the century, there unfortunately remained plenty of truth—at any rate, until well into the twenties—in the pessimists' contention that our culture was a surface

affair, merely laid on from the top, and that the mass of our people when left to themselves were either totally indifferent to music or else frankly preferred its tinsel to its gold. We lacked, obviously enough, that habit of singing and playing good music for our own pleasure, which, practiced however modestly in countries like Germany and Italy (far less in France), gives their people standards of value and guards them from both banality and preciosity. Lacking such standards, our taste was easily corrupted by the firstcomer whose commercial interest lay in corrupting it. It has been shown in the present writer's essay, "Music and the Plain Man,"* how the indifference of the plain people, the central mass of intelligent Americans, divides our public disastrously into a thick layer of musical "lowbrows" or hoodlums at the bottom, who support the trivialities and inanities of jazz and other "popular" trash, and a thin but equally injurious layer of "highbrows" or snobs at the top, who cultivate eccentricity and fads, thereby dangerously artificializing our concert life. How this lack of a middle body of sound taste between the erratic extremes retards the development of our native music has been shown in detail in another essay, "Our Orchestras and Our Money's Worth," in the same book.

As for the extraordinary development of mechanical instruments that marked the second decade of our century and of radio that began in the third, its first incidence was undeniably to aggravate the bad influence of the thoughtless and vulgar segment of the public by increasing access to rubbish and inattentiveness to everything. Quantity production in the pianola, the phonograph and radio at first cheapened taste in music just as, in newspapers and magazines, it had earlier cheapened taste in literature. Only after the novelty of such

*In *The Dilemma of American Music*, by Daniel Gregory Mason. Macmillan.

scientific toys has worn off and experience with them has made a good many types of music familiar, does repetition render intolerable the conventionality, triviality and emptiness of the "popular" and increasing understanding reveal the permanent beauty of what is classic—that is to say, timeless and deathless. The good thus becomes a touchstone that shows up relentlessly the actual quality of the bad. (This is what happened to the farmers who requested the radio companies to give them less jazz.)

Meanwhile, if one looked to the schools for relief from the demoralization of this dumping of cheap goods on the public—"education" being our universal panacea—one found, alas, that the school system too was full of its own kind of greed and graft, and that the so-called "educators" were actually debauching the minds of our children with fifth-rate sentimentalities and banalities of their own instead of giving them the classics to which tender age and helplessness entitled them. About the middle of the period we are considering, the outlook for the musical taste of the general American public was dark indeed. Well might a friendly German visitor warn us:

"There should be music in every school, and always the best. I do not in the least believe in popular music for the masses; I do not believe there is such a thing as *good* popular music. I think what you call here your rag-time is poison. It poisons the very source of your musical growth, for it poisons the taste of the young. You cannot poison the spring of art and hope for a clear, free stream to flow out and enrich life. You ask me how the American nation shall produce its own music. I say to you from the bottom of my heart that it shall at once cease to train its children with what is called popular music. By this I do not mean that the primitive music of a nation is not the rich, resourceful, inspiring thing; the folk music of all lands has been the beginning of mu-

sical culture. But such music as you are producing in America today for the cabaret and the second-rate musical comedy is not folk music. It is just the expression of a restless desire of the people for excitement, for change, for intoxication. * * * This cannot become the source of inspiration for the development of a musical nation. You ask me frankly, and I tell you frankly."

Yet these brave words of Dr. Karl Muck in 1915, shortly before we expelled him as an enemy alien, were prophetic, and before long we were destined to act on them, for he went on to say:

"Teach your children how beautiful your own land is, and in every school in America teach your children all the beautiful music that the greatest musicians of the world have produced. Have every school one rich chorus; have children sing out all the joy and love of their young hearts. Beyond this, let every school have its orchestra. I do not believe there is a school in America that would not furnish you talent for an orchestra. * * * Oh, you cannot think what this would do for the happiness of youth, for the production of art in this country, what channels it would furnish for genius to express itself in the coming generation. And suddenly you will find that you *are* this musical nation that you have talked about, and no one will ever ask again how it can be done and why Americans are not creating music."

Already, at the very time these words were spoken, Dr. Archibald T. Davison of Harvard had struck the first blow for the emancipation of our people from vulgarity by showing that a college glee club could sing truly beautiful music, and sing it with contagious enthusiasm. Already, even then, the movement thus started had begun to spread to other colleges through the Intercollegiate Glee Club Association, which gave its first concert in Carnegie Hall in the Spring of 1914. Soon it spread down to the

preparatory school glee clubs, and today it has pretty well renovated our whole conception of choral music. A few years later Muck's vision of an orchestra as well as a chorus in every school began to be realized. The National High School Orchestra movement was started in 1926, and today there are said to exist in the United States no fewer than 45,000 school orchestras.*

This movement cannot but affect the taste of the coming generation profoundly for the better. If you are singing and playing for yourself Bach, Beethoven, Schubert, Brahms, Grieg, Tchaikovsky, you are likely to give short shrift to the fifth-rate mediocrities that your school authorities may present to you for the sake of their royalties or as adjustment to their own limitations of technique or taste. There are also dotted here and there over the country, either inside or outside the school system, a minority of more enlightened teachers who are cooperating with the idealism of youth—men like T. W. Surette, for instance, a pioneer for sounder music education. And the mechanical players and radios themselves may be guided, if we will take the trouble, into potent helpers of the same illumination. The leader of the Flonzaley Quartet tells how much more enthusiasm is felt, especially in remote towns, for a Mozart quartet that has been recorded than for an equally good one that has not. The moral is obvious. It is not for good art that contempt is bred by familiarity.

We come now finally to the question of American composers. Is it true that we have no original composers of skill and individuality—only imitators and "eclectics"? If this charge can be proved we must admit it to be a damning one, for a living art is measured primarily by its creators; if no one is creating it, its apparent life is likely

to prove galvanic, feverish and unreal.

But, first of all, one or two large general qualifications need to be made. Our age is not, anywhere in the world, an age favorable to art; it is primarily a scientific and industrial age. We make, Europe as well as America, better automobiles than sonatas. In a short hundred years the change is startling. Schönberg and Hindemith in Germany, most musical of all nations, are a poor substitute for Schubert and Schumann. Modern music has largely lost its naïveté, its sincerity, its emotional vitality. In the second place, America is a bewilderingly large and many-sided country, made up of endless races, groups, classes and points of view. From such a melting-pot it is not easy to distil artistic clarity, and it does not seem likely there will ever be an "American school," in the sense that there is a French school, or a Russian or an English.

Let us admit, then, that little family likeness unites our composers, that they are at best oddly enough assorted individuals. Let us moderate our ambitions for them, wish them at most to compare with Schönberg and Hindemith rather than with Schubert and Schumann. So much granted to the devil's advocate, however, let us at once proceed to insist that we have between a half dozen and a dozen native composers (the exact size of the group will depend on the stringency of our standards) who have written and are writing competently for quartet and orchestra, who have reasonably mastered their technique whether or not they have entirely assimilated their national environment and, above all, who are surviving the pragmatic test of increasingly frequent performance by our leading ensembles and orchestras. Dr. Howard Hanson enumerated them in an address delivered in 1925, compiling a list of twenty-seven of their works most frequently played by thirteen leading American orchestras in the

*For a more detailed description of both the choral and the orchestral movements, see the present writer's "Our Musical Adolescence," *Harpers*, October, 1930.

seven seasons between 1919-20 and 1925-26. Here it is:

Carpenter—"Adventures in a Perambulator"; "Concertino" for piano and orchestra.
 Chadwick—Anniversary Overture.
 Eichheim—"Oriental Impressions."
 Goldmark—"Negro Rhapsody."
 Griffes (died 1920)—"The Pleasure Dome of Kubla Khan"; "The White Peacock."
 Hadley—"The Ocean."
 Hanson—"Lux Aeterna"; "Nordic" Symphony.
 Hill—"Stevensoniana."
 MacDowell (died 1908) — "Woodland Sketches"; Second Piano Concerto; Indian Suite.
 Mason—First Symphony, in C minor; "Russians," voice and orchestra; Prelude and Fugue, piano and orchestra.
 Powell—"Rhapsodie Nègre."
 Schelling—"Victory Ball"; "From an Artist's Life"; Fantastic Suite.
 Skilton—"Indian Dances."
 Sowerby—"King Estmere," two pianos and orchestra; "Comes Autumn Time," overture; "From the Northland," suite; Piano Concerto.
 Taylor—"Through the Looking Glass," suite.

Investigation of more recent programs cancels, it is true, some of these titles. What is more important, it reveals that one must now add some new ones (such, for instance, as Mr. Carpenter's brilliant "Skyscrapers"), and even a few new names—notably Gershwin and Aaron Copland. And we must, of course, bear in mind that the casual appearance of any of the names on such a list, for a few years only, proves nothing as to the universality of appeal and hence the enduring life of the art they represent. The two new ones just mentioned illustrate only too aptly, in

fact, the unfortunate results traced above to the lack of interest in music of our plain people, and the consequent division of our music into the ephemeral products of lowbrowism and the sterile eccentricities of "high-brows" remote from common social feeling. Mr. Gershwin is at his charming best in his light musical comedies and his simpler orchestral pieces like the "Rhapsody in Blue." The more ambitious he becomes, as in "An American in Paris" and the piano concerto, the more his charm evaporates. If, as some one will doubtless soon tell us, he is to become the "Strauss of America," he will be our Johann and not our Richard. And if he misses universality through lack of depth, Copland seems likely to miss it through eccentricity, snobbism, lack of wide sympathies.

But, for that matter, it may well be asked, will any of the composers on Mr. Hanson's list achieve it? The question is pertinent but premature. Time alone, of course, can tell. Perhaps the chances are against it. Yet undeniably, and to our legitimate pride, these men have taken the necessary first step of writing with sufficient technical competence and sufficient individuality to get their work accepted and heard in our concert halls. They have made American music already a "going concern." What it now most needs, to insure its future healthy growth, is the cordial, candid, and critical interest of the American public.

The Strength of Communism In China

[One of the chief obstacles to the establishment of an orderly government in China is, according to many observers, the unrest caused by the hordes of real or so-called Communists who, as well as numerous bandits, are ranging throughout Central China. With the report of the cessation of civil war in China at the end of October, there came news of a concentrated drive by the Nanking Government against Chinese communism. The Nationalist central executive committee, meeting in plenary session in Nanking early in November, adopted as one of its four main objects the suppression of

banditry and communism within six months, and President Chiang Kai-shek announced his intention of leading troops in person against Communist bands. Toward the end of November it was reported that Communists in Hunan Province, which with Kiangsi is one of their chief fields of activity, had seized Changteh and were threatening Changsha. The situation in the opening of December continued to be a matter of rumor and uncertainty. In the following two articles different aspects of the origins and nature of Chinese communism are discussed. —Editor, CURRENT HISTORY.]

I—The Bolshevik Influence

By EDGAR SNOW

Special Correspondent of The New York Sun

WHEN the "Fourth Red Army," led by the ex-Kuomintangist Peng Teh-hui, last Summer occupied Changsha and planted the Soviet hammer and sickle over the ancient city gates, full details of the "outrage" were cabled across the earth. Washington bestowed plenary discretionary powers on the commanding Admiral of the Asiatic fleet; London authorized the movement of a regiment of British troops to Hankow, while from Malta additional cruisers were dispatched to augment the already large naval patrol in China. Moscow, jubilant, wirelessly congratulated the Communist party in China, and in *Pravda* there appeared extensive laudatory comment on the progress of the Chinese comrades. To those close to events of

the past year, however, the Changsha coup was no surprise.

The Communist party of China, since the expulsion of its members from the Kuomintang by the "purgationalists" in 1927, has gained in strength. Communism is no longer—if it has ever been—merely the hallucination of alarmists in China. It is a potent factor which threatens to become a dominating one in the revolutionary scene. The Communist party of China at present has no more than 100,000, no fewer than 70,000 members; people who think that communism in China lacks sufficient numerical strength for a separate revolution are mistaken.

That revolution, so far as the Reds are concerned, began in July, 1927, when the best fighting troops of the



The shaded area shows where Communists are active in China

Kuomintang or other armies, most of them peasants, some of them bandits, and all opposed to the rich of China. With the breakdown of provincial and hsien government, Communists prospered in guerrilla warfare. Their armies grew in size. Nanking had neither time nor energy nor money to devote to these conditions in the Middle South, which steadily grew worse. Communism in China was not regarded as sinister, however, until the armies began boldly to attack the outskirts of large and important cities. The National Government then at last admitted its inability to cope

Wuhan Government, irritated with the Leftists' vacillating policy toward Moscow, suddenly declared their independence and retreated into Kiangsi. A frankly Red Government was set up in Nanchang, capital of the province, with the purpose of opposing both the Wuhan faction and the Nanking régime. For a time it appeared that the Nanking Government might suppress the Communists, after a half-hearted campaign temporarily had ousted them from Nanchang, but subsequent happenings disproved this.

Taking advantage of the Nanking Government's preoccupation with party affairs and Northern militarists, the Reds proceeded to consolidate their power. Into the circle of ex-Kuomintang armies were drawn many notorious military leaders and a number of radical subalterns. Each of these men, an avowed Communist, gathered about him a small but effective unit of soldiers who had been disbanded or who had deserted from the

with the danger "until the party and military issues have been settled," and it declined to be responsible for the lives of foreigners in cities threatened by Communists. This led the American, British, French and Japanese Legations to advise their nationals residing in endangered areas of South China to withdraw to treaty ports. Meanwhile, the government offered a reward of \$100,000 for the head of Chu Teh or Ho Lung, who had taken part in setting up the Red Government at Nanchang.

During the following eighteen months the Reds, in many instances allied with bandits, captured, looted and pillaged over 250 cities and towns in various provinces. In Fukien Province fourteen county districts were ravaged; in Kwangtung, Chekiang, Anhwei, similar numbers; in Hunan, twenty-nine districts; in Honan, Hupeh, Kiangsu and Suchuan, outlaws and marauders were everywhere, but their activities were not communistic,

although in some instances village Soviets were established. Kiangsi Province suffered the most; out of a total of eighty-three districts the Reds took fifty-five. An itemized report, compiled at Nanchang, estimated the total losses to the government, the merchants and the landlords in districts occupied at \$215,000,000. About 32,000 men and women of the upper classes had up to that time been killed, and thrice that number of Communists and peasant rebels.

In a recent issue of the *Red Banner Soviet Daily News*, official journal of the Communist party of Kiangsi, ninety-four districts in South China were claimed to be under a Soviet form of government. In May, 1930, the first Soviet District Conference, held in the Communist political capital of Kian, was attended by delegates from the industrial centres, as well as by regularly appointed members of village and town Soviets. A general revolutionary program was adopted, and preliminary proletarian legislation drafted. The conference discussed the redistribution of land among the peasants; the system of election to the Soviets, the methods of uniting Soviet power, the economic policy of Stalin, the military duties of Soviet citizens, mass educational effort, the abolition of all "militaristic and imperialistic taxes introduced by the Kuomintang," and the substitution of a nominal single tax; the eight-hour working day, social insurance, State support for the unemployed, confiscation of all property of counter-revolutionaries and persons guilty of sabotage, organization of co-operative stores and banks for workers and peasants, determination of Chinese-Soviet policy toward the Kuomintang, the imperialists, the Menshevists, Trotskyites, Kulaks and other national "minorities."

Communism in China is not without shrewd and courageous leadership. Most of the officers in the Red armies are well educated. A number have been at school in Europe; quite a few

have attended Chung Shan University in Moscow. In Russia today there are some 3,000 Chinese students. Scores of those sent there to study bolshevism, under the Sino-Soviet entente arranged by Sun Yat-sen and M. Joffe in 1923, have since returned, full of dreams of a homeland in which there will be no bourgeoisie. They find China a field ripe for plotting; as Stalin has described it, it is an "imminently revolutionary situation."

The easy victories of the Communists in provinces south of the Yangtze Kiang, cannot be blamed entirely on the Nanking oligarchy. The death struggles between five different cliques of the Kuomintang, the incessant civil wars conducted solely for political and personal aggrandizement, the financial hegemony established by the so-called Soong "Dynasty," the partial failure of the Nationalists' foreign policy, the unprecedented business depression, the unabated Northwest famine, the disastrous conflict with Russia, the enormous tax burdens levied upon the people by the Nanking appointees, the Kuomintang's inability to keep its promises with regard to opium eradication, civic rights of workers and peasants, economic development, reconstruction, and the elimination of militarism—those are some of the agglomerate but interrelated causes that worked in favor of the Reds.

While the Kuomintang was confronted with the dangers of disintegration the Communist party improved its organization. In 1927 the Communists instituted a party purgation. Only those thoroughly opposed to the capitalistic system, only those favoring land and property confiscation, as outlined in Stalin's fatal message to Borodin, were retained in the new Red line-up. The party abandoned its former policy of temporary alignment with non-Communist revolutionary group leaders, and set out to convert the peasants, the workers, the students, seeking in these three classes the bulwark of its strength.

Rural branches of the Communist party were established in every province and urban branches in every city, with central party committees presiding over the meetings of both, welding them together, aiming to effect a consolidation between the peasants and the workers. The presence of party members in every school and college caused the government to close a number of institutions where it was discovered that Communist activities were "poisoning the minds of the students." In every army Communists appeared with the object of inciting mutiny and creating bands of brigands to harry the government and eventually to cooperate with the Reds. In two years there were at least twenty-eight mutinies.

In the cities the Communists directed their energies to workers in every industry. In Shanghai during 1929 they were responsible for 184 strikes involving approximately 160,000 workers, who lost about 700,000 working days. The purpose of the urban Soviets throughout China was to bring about a state of general strike in all large cities. The dwindling influence of the Kuomintang with the proletariat was shown by the 3,000 members in its Shanghai labor unions in 1930, as compared with more than 20,000 in 1927. As a result of the party's submission to a Nanking decree that "for the present" no more strikes would be tolerated and all offenders "severely dealt with," the Communists strengthened their position by pointing out the inconsistency of this measure with the professed aims of the Kuomintang to raise and improve labor conditions.

In the *Tangpus*, district branches of the Kuomintang, secret adherents of the Communist party were found to be responsible for many of the oppressive acts which disturbed the trust of the workers. Their object was to undermine public confidence in the Kuomintang by causing it to appear despotic and deceitful. In many dis-

tricts remote from Nanking Communists secured control of the *Tangpus* and manipulated them as they pleased. Communist membership in the Kuomintang varies according to topical influences, leadership, and the extent of domination from the capital. During the period of the Kuomintang's cooperation with the Reds, many thousands of them entered the Nationalist party. Afterward, when the latter decided to become respectable and bourgeois, it was impossible to drive out all the Communists, since many of them had kept their Bolshevik affiliations to themselves. By sharpening and stimulating antipathies between party members in the Kuomintang Communists helped to cause the endless wars in the North, which kept party leaders busy with fruitless efforts at preserving harmony. Meanwhile, Reds in the South gained sufficient peasant followers to give their movement the appearance of unanimity.

No one seriously doubts that behind the major strategy of the Communist party in China there is the directing hand of Moscow. The *Interprecor*, official publication of the Third International, unguardedly exults in the assistance given Chinese Communists by the Central party. So does the *Far Eastern Bulletin*, organ of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat, financed from Moscow. In the International Settlement and the French Concession, and in similar extraterritorial districts throughout China, Russians are said to maintain close but carefully covered relations with native Communists. Evidence furnished by arrested Communists and in raids on Russian "business" firms, as well as data secured from Soviet consulates in Manchuria, in the Summer of 1929 showed that considerable money was being distributed to Chinese through Russian agents resident in the treaty ports of China. Foreign police in Shanghai assert that "thousands of Chinese are on the payroll of Moscow."

Economically China is not ready, according to the Marxist theory, for a Communist State. Industry has not developed on a scale sufficient to create those sharp class barriers which existed in Russia before the revolution, and which exist in Europe today. Interior China, indeed, is little beyond the Europe on which Adam Smith based his theories of political economy. But in the big cities, such as Hankow, Shanghai, Canton, Tientsin, Nanking and Peiping, where the bulk of foreign capital is invested, an industrial revolution already has crowded out the old artisans, and has destroyed that intimate relationship between owner and operator which in imperial days made Chinese labor the most tranquil in the world. There are now some 3,000,000 miners and factory workers in China who, with the millions of wharf coolies, barrow men, seamen, rickshaw men and coolie labor, make up the masses which are exploited in China as nowhere else. The average daily wage of industrial workers in China is well under 20 cents in American money.

It is contended that the social changes advocated by Communists are too drastic ever to recommend themselves to the tradition-fettered Chinese and that the Soviet attacks on the patriarchal system antagonizes what general support the appeal of equal distribution of land and wealth may draw; yet the clan system in China already is moribund, the Kuomintang itself having destroyed certain vestiges of it, while further intense industrialization is adding the finishing touches.

The rural population of China consists of four classes—landlords, usurers, educated men, and peasants. For nearly twenty years the peasants have been abused, plundered and exploited. Small farmers who still owned land when the Manchus were ousted, have been forced to mortgage it in order to satisfy the extortionate demands of militarists. Taxes frequently are collected two or three years in ad-

vance, only to be succeeded by "special assessments" when a new war puts another administration in control. Unable to redeem their mortgages, the peasants have relinquished their land to the usurers. Hating them, they have had to borrow at from 30 to 60 per cent more money so as to be able to purchase seed grain. Thousands of once free farmers are now working for landlords, tax-gatherers, and money-lenders. In 1927 it was estimated by the former Ministry of Labor that nine-tenths of the land and wealth in six of the ten Southern provinces was held by less than 5 per cent of the population.

The National Government has not succeeded in enacting any legislation to remedy this pressing agrarian problem. The sentiment of the peasants is seen in the fact that Nanking Generals who have suffered defeats from the Communists almost invariably attribute their failures to faulty information regarding the enemy. The Governor of Kiangsi Province has thrice resigned on the basis of non-support from the people. When the Reds captured Changsha no warning of their approach reached Ho Chien, garrison commander, till after they had actually entered the city and disarmed the gendarmes. A great many of the Red successes would not have been possible without substantial aid and protection from the peasants.

The Communist party in China has the advantages of numerical strength apparently equal to that of the Kuomintang; a region for operations covering five provinces, over much of which virtual anarchy prevailed for months; a well-armed force of some 60,000 men, led by ex-Kuomintang chieftains; the actual possession and administration of between 50,000 and 60,000 square miles; the cooperation of Soviet Russia; the sympathies of large numbers of poor peasants; the support of many thousands of half-starved workers, and constant desertions and mutinies among government troops opposing the rebels.

There are, however, many reasons why a Soviet Republic of China may not become an actuality. The shaping of decisive events will depend upon

the result of conflicts within the Kuomintang, and the policy of the foreign powers if the chaos of the last two years continues.

II—Banditry in a New Guise

By REGINALD E. SWEETLAND

Correspondent of The Chicago Daily News in China

BY a strange twist of fate the ancient cultural centre of China has become the foster parent of the Chinese Communist movement. Communism as it exists in the fertile lands south of the great Yangtze Kiang sprang from a small club known as the Communist Club in the city of Changsha. This was only a few years ago. The young Communists, most of them about the age of 16, became troublesome to a girls' school next door and the principal requested the city officials to suppress the club. The officials, therefore, closed the girls' school and allowed the club to thrive. Last July, with an army at its back, this same group of Communists seized Changsha and held it nine days before being driven out by provincial troops and a Chinese gunboat.

When reading of China in the newspapers we are apt to confuse bandits with Communists, or vice versa, because the difference between the roving gangs of bandits and the swiftly moving armies of Communists is not easily grasped. The distinction is, however, a most important one. When bandits enter a town or village they literally sack it, tear buildings down, loot stores, homes, police stations and garrison headquarters, murder the inhabitants in cold blood, seize as many of the wealthy as they can lay their hands upon and carry them off for ransom. These ferocious marauders are generally youths of high school age. Having reduced their prey to ruins, they disappear into the country, eluding pursuers. Not so the Commu-

nists. Their methods and their intentions are different. They march upon a town, generally at night, and having previously decided what buildings to destroy, loot or preserve, they go about their business with a thoroughness and dispatch that have seldom been equaled in Chinese military or political history. They loot, they murder, but, because they expect to remain, they also spare. The fact that they have brains and use them serves to measure the danger they constitute.

It was the army of Peng Teh-hui, a 38-year-old army Major educated in a French mission school, that marched upon Changsha, provincial capital of Hunan province, and on July 27, 1930, gained control. Peng left 6,000 men outside the city and entered with 2,000 armed with machine guns, rifles and spears. Before that, more than 100,000 residents scrambled down to the waterfront, clambered aboard all available boats and made their way down the Siang River and down the Yangtze 200 miles to Hankow, taking with them most of the bank deposits. The Communist entry into the city was practically unopposed. Government troops left for defense had fled or been withdrawn for "strategical purposes." Of Changsha's 500,000 population 70 per cent were coolies or poor peasants and shop assistants, and fully 10 per cent were already communistically inclined.

Peng had previously designated the buildings and the institutions to be looted, razed or spared. There was little wanton murder. All the provin-

cial government and civic buildings and the homes of city and provincial officials were burned and razed to the ground, on the grounds that if loyalty to a new order was to be established all physical signs of the old order must be eradicated. The movement was not, however, of an anti-Christian nature, and the despoiling of a Catholic church and other Christian institutions was, it is explained, the work of local riffraff. The Hunan Bible Institute, an American institution with five large, modern, well-equipped buildings, was spared because Peng wanted to use it as a barracks. The Yale-in-China hospital went unharmed because Peng needed a hospital. The Standard Oil and Asiatic Petroleum installations were likewise spared because the Communists hoped to set up a government sales tax on oil. The customs house also went undamaged. The large city banks were set on fire only when it was discovered that the funds had been removed. Before destroying a building, the furnishings were removed and piled on the street. Those who wanted to help themselves were encouraged to do so. The Communists themselves collected salt, rice, money, munitions, medical supplies and some bolts of silk, well aware that such articles had a ready cash value. Later they took \$800,000 local currency from the city chamber of commerce.

Peng intended to found a municipal government, but even before the ground plan had been properly laid he and his army were driven from the city. He then commenced a series of raids upon such towns as Liling, Ping-siang, Chuchow and Siangtan.

A striking feature of the Communist raids is the destruction of all boundary marks so that property may be redistributed upon the basis of a family's earning capacity. The title deeds are burned in a public place with considerable ceremony, this serving, with the destruction of government buildings, as a symbol of eradication of loyalty to the old order. Chinese communism is indigenous to

the soil, and the abuses of a vicious financial and militarist system have tended to encourage it. Communist armies, of which there are as many as twenty-one in China today, have shown a thoroughness, a dispatch and an efficiency which have never been equaled by any other armed force in China. Most persons look for the hand of Russia in the Chinese Communist movement. This is hard to find, though the somewhat un-Chinese efficiency of organization may indicate that it is not far away. It is also doubtful whether there is one single master mind in China directing the activities of these various groups. But in contrast to the roving gangs of bandits and freebooters, they are inspired by a single creed. Peng announces this as the ambition to reduce the rich to the level of the poor and to slay all those guilty of preying upon the common people.

The Chinese Communist movement as seen in the Yangtze Valley is an anti-landlord movement. A nation which attempts in a few rapid years to change its civilization from a cumbersome, ancient political cult to one of Western modernity with which it has no experience gives ample scope for widespread, though unrelated, disorders. Present economic conditions in China add fuel to the flames of revolt. Soviet ideas may have influenced some of the leaders, but the great mass of their followers need look no further than the end of their own village street or city *hutung* to see that any change suggested by the slogan shouters must be for the better. Nineteen years of civil war, excessive taxation, unemployment, starvation wages, profiteering, lack of organized authority and responsible government, feudal militarism, banditry, floods, disease, piracies have contributed to a state of affairs incomprehensible to the westerner. Unfulfilled promises of an approaching millennium made by the early adherents of the Nationalist movement, promises which

no government could have hoped to fulfill under the circumstances, have also had their effect upon shaking public confidence. There are enough causes within China herself to create a movement such as the Communist movement is today without any leadership from an outside power.

Changsha, with its population of 500,000, has no sewage system, no municipal water supply, no public health system, no street cleaning corps—and yet the city is the cultural and administrative capital of one of the richest provinces of China. It does have electric lights, and it is the focal point of some 500 miles of good dirt roads, but they and the large provincial buildings which were destroyed in July, are the only signs of the immense municipal and provincial revenues collected during several hundred years. An embankment wall built some years was financed not by the municipal treasury but by a newly imposed cigarette tax, and this tax is still in force although the wall was completed two years ago. The abuses of an ancient financial system is one of the major points of attack of the Nanking Government, and it is likely to be so for years to come. The same story may be told of the majority of cities in China.

In the Second Book of *The Three Characters*, a classic placed in the hands of Chinese school children for countless years, is the story of the man who studied until he was 82 years old before receiving his degree. The entire village took an interest in this man's career, watching him grow from boyhood to manhood, even to doddering old age, and literally financed his education. His degree earned, he was appointed, according to custom, to an official position. He did not need to be told that from that point on it was incumbent upon him to refund the sums the villagers had advanced to him and at a substantial

profit. In other words, he had to get back in the few remaining years of his life enough money from his office by "squeeze," or profiteering, to convince them he had not been an unprofitable investment.

Records do not reveal where the immense provincial revenues go. One former Governor of Hunan province, and this means Changsha, held office for nearly three years, a record. When he was replaced, his personal savings were reported to have amounted to 20,000,000 local dollars. This money, visitors to Changsha are told, was invested in one of the treaty ports and not in the province of its origin. An ex-Governor of Hupeh province held his post for the surprising term of six years. His personal balance sheet showed savings of 30,000,000 local dollars, half of which was invested in Hankow and Wuchang mills. When this Governor was driven from office his successor as a matter of course took over the mills and mortgaged them to private firms. What particular part of this investment goes into the national treasury cannot be estimated. These mills were built with provincial funds, and of course the office of Provincial Governor is a desirable one.

Communism is also winning adherents because of its opposition to the landlord system. In Hunan province farmers hold their land in small lots, for which they are compelled to pay as much as seven-tenths of their crops in rent. The remaining three-tenths is not enough to support a family at anything much above starvation level.

The landlords rarely live on the soil. Most of them reside in the treaty ports where they find the security that their own holdings cannot offer them.

There is wealth in China, and there is luxury, but the majority who pay for it neither see nor enjoy it. If 70 per cent of the Changsha population are below the economic level of the average American who can send his children to school, it is safe to say

that this 70 per cent represents the usual status of the average Chinese in China. There are gradations of poverty far below even this, and it is no wonder that the hopeless thousands are willing to flock to a banner that holds out to them, though falsely, some slight hope of change. And yet every farmer, coolie or peasant is not a Communist. On a mountainside near Changsha dwell in squalor 10,000 farmers and peasants, refugees from the Communist-swept areas of the province. The Nanking Government provides these refugees with two bowls of rice a day.

It is, furthermore, difficult to gauge the degree of sincerity of the few leaders of the movement. The founders of the Communist Club were Mao Tseh-tung, Chu Teh (now believed to be dead) and Peng Teh-hui. All three were deserters from a provincial army. Each had a personal grievance and so each became a rebel, cast around for a platform that was not already occupied, collected a few troops. and found himself at the head

of a movement that spread like a prairie fire. By holding towns to ransom they secured funds for a campaign; by disarming police and soldiers they obtained firearms; by pasting slogans on city walls they gathered a civilian following, who adhered to their cause as long as they found it expedient, but who surrendered their loot when a new group took control.

No Communist army has yet held a city long enough to try governing or even dispensing common justice. The mere sharing of loot to win popular support will not convince even the least skeptical that a change has been made for the better. What cannot be overlooked is that the conditions which have called forth the present agitation and which have made the Communist armies a menace to peace and life in China cannot be modified, much less eradicated, by a mere desire for revenge on the part of the few leaders of the Chinese Communist movement. It is this fact which makes the situation alarming.

The America of Sinclair Lewis

By LEWIS MUMFORD

Author of "The Golden Day" and "Herman Melville"

THE award of the Nobel Prize to Mr. Sinclair Lewis has sent many of us back to his novels for a fresh view of them. How far was the Swedish Academy right in setting Mr. Lewis's work ahead of Eugene O'Neill's in the drama, Sherwood Anderson's and Theodore Dreiser's in the novel, Robert Frost's and E. A. Robinson's in poetry, Paul Elmer More's in criticism? Putting aside for the moment a certain political bias in

both the award and the chorus of European approval that has gone up in favor of it, one finds that Mr. Lewis's novels survive a reappraisal rather better than one had expected. At the end of the decade that brought forth his major works—I exclude such trial flights as *Free Air* and *The Job*—he remains the most effective satirist our country has produced. His achievement is no small one; and it merits a closer examination.

The two decades before the appearance of *Main Street* had been noteworthy for a succession of purely propagandist novels, inspired by a righteous indignation over the evils of American political and economic life. Although able pens had lent themselves to this literature, including writers like Frank Norris, Robert Herrick and Upton Sinclair, the total effect upon our life had been very small. Propaganda, agitation, reform—these were mere ripples of the wind upon the complacent bosom of our national life. Even Mr. Finley Peter Dunne's penetrating comments upon our follies and vices never quite struck home.

In 1920 Mr. Sinclair Lewis published *Main Street*. For the first time all the nebulous criticism and dissatisfaction, which had been accumulating over a long period, had found a voice, and what is more important, had been embodied in creatures of flesh and blood. The combat of Carol Kennicott with the stodgy, self-satisfied society of Gopher Prairie was symbolic of an underlying conflict that was going on all over the country. "Main Street," said Mr. Lewis in a brief introduction, "is the climax of civilization. That this Ford car might stand in front of the Bon Ton Store, Hannibal invaded Rome and Erasmus wrote in Oxford cloisters." The gossip of Main Street, the political beliefs of its bankers and grocers, the architecture of its railway station, the art of its movie palace—all this was for its inhabitants the essence of sound wisdom, the path of duty and progress.

What did Mr. Lewis show? He showed a dreary collection of hovels lined haphazardly along a shabby thoroughfare; a hard, pushing, aggressive economic life, in which the only admirable and spiritually independent figure was the town outcast, Miles Bjornstam; and upon the muddy surface of this society, like a few planks thrown desperately across the slippery ooze, a handful of wistful ignorant souls who aspired to gentle-

ness and culture, but who were all too easily swallowed up in a vast and overpowering banality. The effectiveness of Mr. Lewis's portrait of Main Street was due to the fact that he was not an alien in this environment; his essential foreignness consisted in his ability to see Main Street for what it was, not for what it thought it was. Was it satire or was it portraiture? Plainly it was both; and the strength of the satire was in proportion to the universal reality of the portrait.

In *Main Street* an American had at last written of our life with something of the intellectual rigor and critical detachment that had seemed so cruel and unjustified when it had appeared in Dickens's *Notes* or in Arnold's *Civilization in the United States*. Young people had grown up in this environment, suffocated, stultified, helpless, but unable to find any reason for their spiritual discomfort. Mr. Lewis released them. He challenged the comfortable traditions and sure faiths of Main Street; he set its youths to speculating "whether there may not be other faiths." By piling up the details of this flat, commonplace, spiritually unleavened life, Mr. Lewis showed that it was humanly as monstrous as a nightmare. Main Street awoke from its sleep with the self-conscious grin of a man who realizes that he has been snoring in public.

What *Main Street* did for the small town, *Babbitt* did for the growing metropolis and for its typical hero, the middle-of-the-road business man, devoted to push and progress, to good fellowship and the latest devices in sanitation and hygiene, to playing safe in religion and preserving a religious respect for the latest inventions in industry.

Becoming more confident of his purposes, Mr. Lewis broadened the caricature of Babbitt and became even more savage in his attacks upon the dominant American idols. Babbitt, the realtor, was a recognizable type; he was a man caught in a civilization he believes in too heartily, who had

never done a single thing that corresponded to his inner go: a willing victim to the blather and buncombe of American business life, but nevertheless a victim. Zenith, Babbitt's town, was Main Street, energized and aggressive, but at bottom equally futile; Babbitt was Dr. Kennicott, lacking the saving touch of heroism and poetry that goes into the doctor's operation upon an injured man on a lonely farm.

A weak figure, a ridiculous figure, caught in a civilization whose very virtues, hygiene and mechanical efficiency were, by their divorce from any complete conception of a humane life, as inimical to development as the dirt and inefficiency of other cultures—that was Babbitt, that was his country! Mr. Lewis had held the mirror up to middle-class America: so telling was the reflection that the name of his hero will probably go down in literature with Don Quixote and Tartuffe and Pecksniff. One such image is sometimes more important than volumes of more diffuse accomplishment. But Mr. Lewis's mirror was curiously built. At the centre it reflected accurately the person, the clumsy gestures, the vague speech of the principal character; around this were convex and concave surfaces which showed everything else in American life in vivid but distorted relationships. The surrounding caricatures—Chumley Frink, the "poet," and Dr. Littlefield, the intellectual apologist for the business classes—were as good as the realism of the central character. Littlefield and Frink could only snarl in helpless rage at their portraits; but Babbitt was genuinely touched and, being touched, he was on the defensive. A note of apology and self-derision crept into his attitude toward himself. Mr. Lewis had struck home.

In his next novel, *Arrowsmith*, Mr. Lewis produced his most mature and well-rounded picture of American society. It has more variety of pace and interest than *Main Street*, and its satire is quite as aggressive as in

Babbitt; but it has that additional quality which belongs only to the higher levels of literature, the sense of facing the issues of life and death, and creating, in the very face of defeat, an inner assurance. Main Street, which threatens at the end to subdue Carol Kennicott, might leave one depressed over the dreadful odds; Babbitt might leave one cynical and contemptuous; while Arrowsmith, more tragically conceived, actually leaves one a little exalted.

In *Arrowsmith* Mr. Lewis depicted the odds against which the disinterested man of science labors in a society whose standards are those of pecuniary exploit and emulation. His hero, a physician with a bent toward research, encounters as many obstacles as did Pilgrim in his famous march; but, unlike lonely yearners such as Carol or, for that matter, Babbitt himself, Arrowsmith has company in his effort: Gottlieb, the pure scientist, an excellent portrait of Jacques Loeb, and Sondelius, the herculean fighter of plagues, and Terry Wickett, the hard-boiled research worker. Reaching out sympathetically toward these subordinate characters, Mr. Lewis created the most fully realized figure in his whole gallery—Leora, Arrowsmith's wife. Moreover, the satirist was after bigger game than the pusillanimities of the Thanatopsis Society; he showed the insidious betrayal of values in a great university and a great research foundation where, if anywhere, one might hope for disinterested motives and a free play of the intelligence. Was it altogether an accident, one wonders a little maliciously, that the Swedish Academy did not specifically mention the excellence of *Arrowsmith* when they bestowed their award?

The three novels that followed *Arrowsmith* may be dismissed briefly. *Mantrap*, *The Man who Knew Coolidge* and *Elmer Gantry* do not belong to the same class as the first three that won Mr. Lewis distinction. *Gantry*, in fact, is almost a caricature of Mr.

Lewis's method of caricature; and it shows by its utter lack of convincingness how the effect of Mr. Lewis's best work is based not upon external documentation alone but upon an inner sympathy and experience with his characters and his situations. When he writes well he writes out of the heart, and his satire is effective because his heart has been hurt.

In his most recent novel, *Dodsworth*, Mr. Lewis achieved, I think, the top of his excellence as a novelist, although the theme is less impressive than *Arrowsmith*. He returned, in a sense, to *Main Street* and *Babbitt*, with a new kindliness toward his central figure, the business man. Fran, Dodsworth's wife, is an odious counterpart of Carol Kennicott, with not a thought in the world but her own narrow ego, her own conquests and satisfaction; and Dodsworth himself is a Babbitt who has submitted to the prevailing standards without being enthralled by them. Not since Henry James had anyone so well portrayed the dilemmas of the untutored American in Europe, exposed to that irresponsive but quickening scene. I read this novel first in Geneva; and I remember how well Dodsworth survived this intimate ordeal. That very week I met Dodsworth in person, and felt that the reality had not been as deftly handled as the imaginary figure.

Are Mr. Lewis's novels representative of American life? Yes—if one is careful to qualify the meanings of these words. Mr. Lewis knows his own people of the Middle West very well; he writes as though at one period or another he had believed all their platitudes and participated in their worshipful mechanical routine. He has their intense practical sense and their wistfulness; the names of exotic places can stir him, and the chief defect of his style is the result of an effort to achieve glamour. His admiration for Joseph Hergesheimer and James Branch Cabell shows, I be-

lieve, what he would like to achieve in literature were he not, against his dearest efforts and convictions, immeasurably superior to these men.

Mr. Sinclair Lewis' satires have the value of photography, and to say this is not to disparage his achievements but to reinforce the claims of photography. His best satirical effects are obtained simply by holding in sharp focus something that actually exists, and forgetting, for the moment, all that historically or spatially enters into the object to qualify it. The art of photography is that of creative selection; it brings nothing into existence, except what is developed by the momentary act of abstraction. All the phenomena that Mr. Lewis shows are real; but, by the nature of his method, he is unable to indicate a more comprehensive reality. The sum total of America, as presented in the pages of Mr. Lewis, is less than that which a true poet, like Mr. Robinson Jeffers or Mr. Robert Frost, will indicate in a single page.

Do not be deceived—Mr. Lewis' satiric photographs have immense value; he has pried everywhere and caught people in ridiculous postures and feeble attitudes which in their blindness they mistook for normal human grace; and all in all he has been a sanative and healthy influence during the past decade. The pursuit of his particular satiric gifts, however, has led him to neglect his larger opportunities as a novelist. By now his satire is pat; we are familiar with the technique of his merciless mimicry and we know beforehand who will be hit by it; indeed, the satire, once perceived, avoids complete dullness only because of Mr. Lewis' skill as a creator of character. In this department, he has the immense fecundity of Dickens, with the additional advantage that he succeeds as well with thoroughly human figures, like Leora and Dodsworth, as with grotesques and oddities like the unforgettable Dr. Pickerbaugh. Were he not driven

by some inner exacerbation to "get back at" the community that produced him, Mr. Lewis could give back much to it; for he has real insight and might easily create characters on a large scale who would exist in their own right, not merely as creatures in a malicious demonstration.

As satirist Mr. Lewis has demolished a good part of the scaffold of pretensions which conceals the flimsy structure of our institutions. Unfortunately, neither his critical intelligence nor his positive understanding is equal to the task of rebuilding this structure; nor is he willing to accept it as a whole, with all its virtues and defects, as Tolstoi accepted Russia, in order better to clarify its essence, its soul. The truth is that he lacks such imaginative profundity as would alter the whole centre of a person's life, such an alteration as Melville, Dostoevski, Van Gogh are capable of making. To define Mr. Sinclair Lewis' specific virtues is to acknowledge his limitations. He has been immersed in his milieu; he knows its dreadful human limitations; he has rebelled against them; but he has not mustered sufficient personal force or culture to overcome them in himself; the satirist, like the jailer, is the victim of his own system of punishment.

What, now, shall we say to Mr. Sinclair Lewis's achievement of the Nobel Prize? Purely on his literary merits, he would undoubtedly be one of the six or seven names that would come to mind as candidates for this prize. But Mr. Lewis' success in Europe has a political as well as a literary aspect. As a satirist he has

created a picture of America that corresponds in a remarkable degree with the naïve caricature of America that all but the most enlightened and perceptive Europeans carry in their heads. In crowning Mr. Lewis's work the Swedish Academy has, in the form of a compliment, conveyed a subtle disparagement of the country they honored.

The comment of a Swedish newspaper on the award, to the effect that American writers are no longer to be regarded as "bread-hunting, sensation thirsty, uncultured Yankees," lets the cat out of the bag; for obviously, Mr. Lewis's novels do portray America in these terms—and this, apart from their genuine merits, accounts for his ready welcome abroad. The very fact that the committee went out of its way to cite *Elmer Gantry*, Mr. Lewis's worst novel and grossest caricature, only increases one's suspicions of the unconscious forces at work. The European notion that the country which has produced a Melville, a Hawthorne, a Whitman, an Emerson, a Thoreau, a Dickinson, a Henry Adams, a James, must find itself a little flattered to be singled out for recognition in the person of Sinclair Lewis is ignorant enough and complacent enough to be accepted as merely funny. Had the Nobel Prize gone to the writer who, in his own person and work, embodies what is most precious and significant in contemporary American literature, it would doubtless have gone to Robert Frost. One has a notion, however, that Frost's America is a country of which the Swedish Academy has never heard.

Fascist Italy's Suppression of Intellectual Freedom

By C. H. ABAD

[The plight of the intellectuals in Italy, which is discussed in the article printed below, is emphasized by the case of Giuseppe Rensi, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Genoa, who was released from prison on Dec. 3, 1930, the charges against him not having been proved. Simultaneously with about twenty other liberals, among them a former Minister of Finance, he had been arrested in the days preceding the anniversary of the March on Rome. Professor Rensi's arrest apparently arose from some phrases in a letter from his wife to relatives in another province criticizing the Fascist régime. The same dispatch which brought word of the release of Professor Rensi also told of the arrest of twenty-seven persons for anti-Fascist activity. Among those arrested were Mario Vinciguerra and Renzo Rendi, journalists, and Mme. de Bosis, widow of the poet, Adolfo de Bosis. The writer of this article is known to the Editor of *CURRENT HISTORY* as having obtained the facts through recent residence in Italy, and through observation and personal contact with leading Italians of all shades of political opinion.]

TWO years ago an American investigator sat in Rome in the office of Augusto Turati, then Secretary General of the Fascist party. As an American citizen who was admittedly in Italy to study Fascism, he could venture some criticism. He remarked that the opinion was widespread abroad that Fascism suppressed every liberty, and asked Signor Turati what would happen, for example, to a professor who publicly criticized the government. "Nothing," was Turati's answer, and noticing that this reply did

not quite convince his questioner, he cited an example in support of his contention: When the new electoral law was before the Senate for discussion, a Senator had delivered a speech against the measure and, in addition, had presented a resolution opposing the project, which was signed by forty-two Senators. "This professor is still teaching," said Turati.*

Unfortunately for Signor Turati, his questioner was familiar with the incident and knew that it had been officially proposed to remove the professor from the university. This had not been done because the Minister of Education had declared himself unable to dismiss the professor, since the Italian Constitution provides that no Deputy or Senator can be called to account for opinions expressed in Parliament. The investigator also knew that there had been attempts to make life intolerable for this professor and for those of his colleagues who, as Senators, had signed the resolution. A situation was created which rendered it impossible for them to give examinations. Physical conflicts occurred between the students, who enthusiastically supported their professors, and young Black Shirts whom the party had sent into the university to hiss the teachers.

Moreover, at the time when the in-

*The Italian Senate is composed of persons chosen by the King to represent the nation because of some outstanding accomplishment in their special line of work. Thus professors, industrialists, engineers, authors, or members of any other profession may be appointed.

interview with Augusto Turati took place, one professor had already been dismissed as a result of an article in which he had criticized certain economic policies of the government. The reply, in an editorial in *Il Popolo d'Italia*, was commonly ascribed to the head of the government himself. It stated that the author of the offending article was a university professor who constantly invoked liberty, and concluded: "Why not grant it to him for once?" Later, the professor was informed that the Council of Ministers had decided to pension him on the basis of the "law on the dismissal of State employes."

This law, which became effective on Dec. 24, 1925, provides that the government may dismiss State employes, including professors, "who place themselves in a position which is incompatible with the general political tendencies of the government, by manifestations in or outside office." The law had been in existence for almost three years, but the government had not dared to make use of it except in the case of school teachers. In the instance just mentioned it soon realized from the indignation aroused in intellectual circles that it had made a blunder.

After this misstep other methods had to be devised to "purify" the universities, for that they were—and are—the strongholds of anti-Fascism in Italy even the members of the government, including Mussolini himself, have frequently admitted.

During the discussion on what definite measures to take, indirect pressure was brought to bear on Italian professors. In March, 1926, the Mayor of Milan suspended the Italian National Convention of Philosophers because discussion had centred on the problem of freedom of thought. The action of the Mayor was approved in a telegram from the Minister of Education: "I congratulate you most warmly for having taught an elementary lesson to the philosophers who have convened in your city: that it is

useless to try to distort science in order to employ it as a means of political propaganda against the Fascist Government."

The Fascist students are organized into "Fascist University Groups" which are entrusted with the task of keeping close watch over the faculty and of reporting any statements or remarks that are intended or could be regarded as directed against the régime or any of its policies. In the University of Naples signs were attached to the walls calling for the dismissal of a number of professors who, in 1925, had signed a statement drawn up by Benedetto Croce. That "manifesto of the intellectuals" had been an affirmation of faith in liberty and democracy on the part of anti-Fascist professors in Italy in reply to a declaration brought out by the Fascist professors in support of the régime. In this atmosphere of official hostility the professors in Naples taught for months.

Other incidents in the first years of the reign of Fascism proved the hostility of the intellectuals to the government of Mussolini. Thus in June, 1925, a number of professors "as an act of conscience" publicly attested their admiration for and solidarity with the exiled Professor Gaetano Salvemini.

Undoubtedly, because of these manifestations the "law on the dismissal of State employes" was promulgated, but if it succeeded in silencing the intellectuals, it could not modify their sentiments. Only rarely does some one still dare to express his thoughts openly. When, at the beginning of 1929, the famous Italian philosopher, Benedetto Croce, spoke in the Senate against the ratification of the Lateran Treaty, a professor in the University of Turin, himself a prominent teacher of philosophy, together with twenty-five of his students, addressed a letter of congratulation to Croce. The letter was intercepted by the police, and although these persons had engaged in a perfectly legal act (that is, they had

expressed their agreement with the opinion of a man who, by his very position as Senator, was called upon to examine critically the acts of the government), they were deported to the penal islands. After months of exile the professor was released, but some of the students are still on the island of Ponza.

But such manifestations of belief in liberty are at present rare among Italian professors. For almost two years, methods for the Fascistization of the universities have been unofficially and officially under discussion. The first step was taken when, in February, 1929, Augusto Turati sent a circular "To the secretaries of the federations in the provinces with universities or other higher grade institutions, to the directors of such institutions and to the Fascist university groups:"

In these days I assume, in my quality as secretary of the party, the direct organization of the privat docents, assistants and instructors * * * with the definite intention of giving them a solid and harmonious organization, according to the principles and necessities of Fascism. The university groups of assistants and professors (privat docents) will have a double field of activity: in the universities and in the federations. In the university they will take charge of the political organization and will give moral and professional assistance to individual members and (they) will carry the contributions of their precious knowledge into the Fascist federations.

Even before control was thus extended over the assistant teaching staff and the privat docents, care had been taken to supervise all publications that bore a political tinge. Freedom of the press was destroyed by the Fascists long ago. By the end of 1926 democratic, liberal and socialist newspapers had been suspended by the authorities, their offices had been destroyed, or by continual confiscation of their issues their publication had been made impossible.

The *Corriere della Sera*, frequently referred to as the best Continental paper because of its outstanding special correspondents, resisted the longest. Finally, the Fascists discovered

a slight irregularity in the registration of the paper and forced the shareholders to bring suit against the proprietor. He was convicted, and the *Corriere della Sera* passed into Fascist hands. Many editors of suppressed papers have fled to France to escape Fascist persecution. That their fears were justified was proved in the case of Pietro Gobetti, a young publisher from Turin who had been editor of a liberal magazine. The Fascists determined to teach him a lesson and Mussolini with his own hand wrote a telegram to the Prefect of Turin ordering that "life should be made difficult" for him. Gobetti succeeded in reaching Paris, but influenza from which he had been suffering while still in Turin was rendered more serious by the hardships he had to endure during his escape and he died in a French hospital.

Once the Fascists had purged the ranks of the journalists they were determined to prevent the reappearance of opposition. A regulation of April, 1928, concerning journalists reads:

In accordance with Article One of the Royal Decree of Feb. 20, 1928, the journalistic profession is to be followed only by persons enrolled in the professional register. The keeping of the register and discipline of the enrolled persons is entrusted to a committee of five members who themselves are enrolled in and adhere to the syndicate and are chosen by the Minister of Justice with the consent of the Ministers of the Interior and of Corporations from among the journalists nominated by the competent syndical association.

Today Italian papers are only allowed to print news items, frequently with official comments, that have been given to them by the Government Press Bureau. Two instances will illustrate how completely the press is controlled by the government. The sensational escape of three anti-Fascists from the penal island of Lipari in 1929 provided news accounts of many columns in the leading papers of all countries. In the Italian press a three-line news dispatch appeared ten days after the escape, limiting the informa-

tion to the names of the fugitives. In July, 1930, an airplane appeared at noon over Milan and for twenty minutes scattered anti-Fascist leaflets. All Milan had seen the airplane and the leaflets had been secretly distributed in other parts of Italy, when, two days later, the press was permitted to mention the incident.

However, information can be gained from Italian newspapers. A careful scrutiny of the publications of the various factions will give the reader a clear idea of the internal conflict in the party. Furthermore, whenever the newspapers print a denial of some rumor, such as the attempt upon Mussolini's life on the road between Ostia and Rome or the local revolts in the South of Italy during the Winter of 1929-30, one can be sure that the rumors have a factual basis.

Because of the provisions of the Lateran Treaty, the *Osservatore Romano*, official organ of the Vatican, is no longer published on Italian territory. Whenever, during the quarrels between Mussolini and the Pope after the signing of the treaty, news was published in the *Osservatore* which the Italian authorities wished to withhold from the people, the entire issue of the paper was confiscated by the police as soon as it left the boundaries of the Vatican City. A short time ago a new paper, *Il Corriere*, was founded in Rome. The editors are said to have several million lire at their disposal and to have a backing of monarchists and clericals. Whether the interests represented are too strong to permit prosecution or whether the paper is so cleverly handled that, although clearly a potential enemy, it offers no basis for an open attack, it is certain that *Il Corriere* is by far the most independent newspaper in Italy today.

For some time the dispatches of foreign correspondents in Italy were not censored, but even that has changed. Percy Winner has told in the *New York Evening Post* how censorship over foreign correspondence is exercised. Reporters are warned that

certain statements are intended for internal consumption and are not to become known beyond the Italian frontier; should they fail to show discretion they are henceforth given seats at public meetings so placed that they are unable to hear the speeches. A secret censorship office is maintained at the central postoffice in Rome. Items whose circulation abroad seems undesirable are delayed until they have lost their news value. Continual annoyances rather than express ordinances are the weapons the Fascists use against foreign correspondents.

At times the results of censorship are astonishing. Some months ago an American journalist went to Lipari to investigate the condition of the political prisoners. He talked to a former journalist of the *Corriere della Sera* who, according to news that has reached Paris directly from Lipari, described life on the island to him in its most horrible aspect. The report that reached America was quite different. One other foreign journalist, a correspondent of the French paper *Le Petit Parisien*, went to the island of Lipari with the express authorization of Mussolini. Although he did not know that the persons presented to him as prisoners were disguised officials, he realized that a trick was being played upon him. Hence his articles failed to meet with the approval of the Fascist authorities and *Le Petit Parisien* was not allowed to enter Italy while the articles were being published. The owner of a bookstore in which the articles were sold in book form was arrested—or perhaps it was because the same shop had sold books on modern history by the exiled Italian Professor Salvemini!

Even Fascists are not sure of the publication and sale of their books when ideas are expressed which are displeasing to the government. Recently the publishers of a book entitled *The United States of Europe and the World* sent the following notice to the Fascist author: "Dramatic inci-

dent. Yesterday the copies of the book were confiscated in two bookstores in Turin. Confiscation is to continue in the other bookstores of Turin and Italy. We are very sorry. The book sold marvelously well and the edition was about to be exhausted. Protest? To whom?"

In January, 1929, a circular by the secretary of the Fascist party stated that the publishing houses were invited henceforth to submit to the Fascist federations proofs of all works that are political in character or content. In case of doubt, uncertainty or controversy the federation must submit the proofs to the press office of the National Fascist party, whose decision shall be final. Copies of volumes, pamphlets or books of recent publication which may be of interest in connection with their diffusion in Italy or abroad must be submitted in the same manner.

In December, 1929, another blow was struck at the independence of Italian universities. A circular signed by the secretary of the Fascist party, addressed to the presidents of universities, decreed that "the only elements authorized to recommend persons as worthy of being proposed for professorship are the secretaries of the local sections of the National Association of University Professors and the National Association of Privat Docents." Both these organizations are Fascist. Thereby an old privilege of the universities was removed; previously, whenever there was a vacancy, the members of the faculty convened and decided in common on the person to be appointed. Now this right is taken from the universities and control is vested in the government.

As a further attempt to amalgamate the universities with the State, the Fascist Grand Council in May, 1930, decided that the deans of the universities themselves must undertake the organization and direction of Fascist university associations. The resolution also stipulated that the presidents and deans of the universities (as

is the case for the principals of public and high schools) should be chosen from among the professors who have early attested their attachment to the Fascist Government by enrolment in the party; whenever possible, they are to be Fascists of five years' standing. In the Chamber of Deputies it was stated that "every time there is an opening for an executive position, the Minister of Education should examine the qualifications of the competitors, paying special attention to their Fascist merits."

The Fascists hope that, when the new generation, trained in Fascist principles, has grown up, they will no longer encounter the opposition they meet in the country today. They take care to reserve positions as school teachers for persons who are in sympathy with the régime. Teaching has been standardized by allowing in the schools, for each subject, a single textbook, which has been approved by the government. Since the teachers of secondary schools are trained in the universities, it is of special importance to "purify" them. Certainly no new posts are entrusted to non-Fascists, even if of outstanding ability.

Positions in some Italian universities are filled by holding a public contest and by awarding the professorship to the person who by his publications has demonstrated himself to be the ablest. Two years ago the son of an Italian Senator, who is known to be opposed to the régime, competed for a position in a large university and was unanimously declared the winner by the commission in charge, which included several prominent Fascists, among them the Under-Secretary at the Ministry of Education. Notwithstanding the young man's record and the fact that he had never engaged in politics, a telegram from the general headquarters of the Fascist party reached the commission declaring that the government would never tolerate the appointment of the son of an anti-Fascist. The young man was then assigned a position in a small and unim-

portant university in the south of Italy.

In these circumstances, it is understandable that young Italians who wish to devote their lives to teaching but who do not share the political opinions of the party in power seek to obtain professorships abroad. Professors who were prominent in Italy before the advent of Fascism are engaged in the universities of various countries. The son of a well-known law professor at the University of Milan is now teaching at Cambridge. An Italian historian whom the Fascists have deprived of his citizenship gave a course on Italian history in Harvard University in 1929 and is now teaching at Oxford. The first professor to be removed under the "law on the dismissal of State employes" is lecturing at present at the Egyptian University in Cairo. In Brussels, an Italian ex-Minister who was deprived of his professorship at the University of Naples because of his political affiliations, teaches at the *Institut des Hautes Etudes*.

For those professors who cannot be eliminated without due cause, conditions are made unbearable. At the University of Naples the president addressed a personal letter to all professors informing them that, on the initiative of the government, a course of religious lectures had been arranged and that every one was obliged to attend. There were some, of course, who refused to comply with the order, but others who all their lives had professed non-religious, if not anti-religious principles were to be found kneeling before the altar.

Italian university circles have been agitated most seriously by the rumor that all professors will be called upon to take an oath of allegiance to the government. No doubt some will refuse to do so, preferring destitution, and perhaps persecution, to such humiliation; but others will think of their families. They will realize that, once on the blacklist of the régime, there will be no chance for them to earn a living outside the university. Times are hard in Italy and with the present cost of living (which is little below that of the United States) the salary of a professor, which seldom exceeds \$1,300, is barely sufficient to keep him and his family going. To be pensioned on one-third of that sum would mean misery, while few can hope to receive a professorship abroad.

Such an atmosphere of suppression is hardly beneficial to the Italian universities. The seriousness of the situation has aroused even Fascist sympathizers. In April, 1930, a professor made a plea in the Senate for freedom of thought, if not in the lower schools, at least in the universities. He declared that if the cultural level of the country is not to decline the highest institutions of learning in Italy must not in any circumstances be divorced from those throughout the world. Science must be free, all theories and all doctrines must be admitted and studied at the universities, for science and culture are based on international collaboration and are cosmopolitan. To his anxious appeal the Minister of Education answered: "Too much freedom exists already!"

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Diplomatic Background of America's Entry Into the War

By CHARLES SEYMOUR
Provost of Yale University

IN a recent questionnaire, distributed among a large number of students of history and designed to elicit current opinion regarding war responsibility, it is interesting to note that an overwhelming majority of the replies carried the conviction that the United States was justified in entering the World War in the Spring of 1917. The reasons that lay behind this opinion were not cited. For the most part they probably could not be regarded as valid, for opinions of this sort ought to be founded upon evidence and not prejudice, and the whole story of our relations with the belligerents was not known. For this reason the appearance of the new volume issued by the Department of State, entitled *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1916: The World War*, is of the greatest significance. The student can now decide the issue on the basis of the facts rather than bias. In a book that runs to nearly a thousand pages and composed of the correspondence between the department and its representatives abroad, as well as with foreign governments, he can trace the efforts made to end the war, the attempts to maintain our neutral rights as against constant encroachments and threats of real hostility, and can realize the strength of the factors that were tending always to push us into the mêlée.

For the United States, as for the belligerents, the year 1916 was the

year of crisis. While Russia was draining her last ounce of war energy in futile offensives and stood upon the threshold of revolution, while the Germans wasted themselves before Verdun and the Allies on the Somme, we faced the realization that in modern times a power like the United States cannot maintain indefinitely a position of neutrality. As the belligerents became desperate, inevitably they extended their sphere of action so as to interfere with neutral rights; if the war continued we must either defend those rights, which meant participation, or else withdraw wholly from intercourse with the outside world, a policy which few could be found to advocate even if it proved practicable. Hence the feverish zeal with which those who understood the essence of the situation worked to secure peace before the United States should be drawn in. Hence the conviction at the end of the year that the failure of all the peace efforts of 1916 made unavoidable our entrance into the struggle.

The year 1916 opened with an intensification of trouble with Germany and her allies. On Jan. 1 the Department of State received a terse cable from our Consul General in London: "P. & O. liner Persia reported sunk, submarine, while approaching Alexandria. * * * American Consul, Aden, going to post, left London as passen-

ger. Nearly all on board perished." The cable arrived while the negotiations with Germany over the *Lusitania* and with Austria over the *Ancona* were still unsettled. In very clear terms President Wilson had laid down the principle that we would hold Germany and her allies "strictly accountable" for the loss of American lives, if a submarine attacked a merchant vessel without adequate warning and care of the passengers. Yet it was apparent that, despite a grudging acceptance of the principle by Germany, she either would not or could not in practice maintain it. In fact, while the British refused to forego their right to arm merchantmen, the Germans insisted that their pledge applied only to unarmed ships. Could we escape trouble by refusing to allow American citizens to travel on armed liners? The proposition was hailed eagerly by some of our Congressmen but quashed imperatively by President Wilson. To give cruel point to our difficulties, on March 24, 1916, the Channel liner *Sussex* was sunk by a German submarine, some eighty non-combatant passengers, among them Americans, being killed or injured. The American protest was definite, and pointed directly to our entrance into the war a year later. Wilson stated that unless Germany immediately declared and effected an abandonment of its existing methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the United States would have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations altogether. Germany yielded and promised to observe the rules of visit and search and to provide for the safety of passengers. It seemed like a diplomatic as well as a humanitarian victory.

But heavy clouds remained upon the horizon. Could the German Government exert sufficient authority actually to maintain its pledge? The succeeding months were filled with cases of submarine sinkings. In October, November and December the State Department made representa-

tions regarding the torpedoing of no less than fourteen ships that had been sunk in doubtful circumstances. And what guarantee was there that Germany would not withdraw her pledge? If she found herself unable to win a victorious peace through military triumph, it was certain that in the end she would fall back upon the ultimate weapon of unrestricted submarine warfare.

During these protracted negotiations with Germany, American relations with the Allies had become quite as complicated and perhaps even more irritating. Our rights as a neutral power were threatened just as directly by allied interference with American trade as by the submarine war, although the controversy involved material factors and not human lives. At the very beginning of the year Great Britain prepared to develop the stringency of the measures designed to prevent goods of all kinds from entering Germany. Blacklists of neutral ships and firms were drafted; orders in council first modified the declaration of London and then withdrew all recognition of its principles; bunker coal was denied to American ships; the distinction between absolute and conditional contraband was abolished. With this abolition the British Government published a list of articles regarded as contraband which might almost serve as an encyclopedia. The list numbered 171 items, each of which was designed to cover a vast range of goods, some of them of an interesting variety: "bladders, guts, casings and sausage skins," "foodstuffs," "materials especially adapted for use in the manufacture or repair of tyres," "vegetable fibers and yarns made therefrom," "skins of calves, pigs, sheep, goats and deer." Thereafter it would require a vast ingenuity to discover any article of home use that would not fall under one category or another set forth on the contraband list.

Against such utilization of the control of the seas exercised by the Allies

the United States constantly and vigorously protested. That the controversy did not develop into open diplomatic conflict, perhaps into war, was due to the good temper and forbearance of the officials on both sides; perhaps to the fact that despite the irritations caused by the blockade, the United States was still more appalled by the threatened submarine warfare. But even so, Sir Edward Grey expressed his anxiety lest the United States decide to convoy its ships with an armed fleet, which might lead to open hostilities.

The difficult and dangerous position in which the United States found itself in 1916 is abundantly plain. Crises in relations with Germany were allayed only to be immediately succeeded by crises with Great Britain and the Allies. The nervous tension increased with the passing of each week. It is not surprising therefore that the American Government sought anxiously, and with all the means at its disposal, to end the European struggle. Recognizing the increasingly desperate character of the situation, the President dispatched Colonel House to Europe in December, 1915. He was probably better qualified for such a mission than any other living individual. He had come into close relations with Sir Edward Grey, British Foreign Secretary, relations which were characterized by mutual personal affection. Grey later wrote: "I found combined in him in a rare degree the qualities of wisdom and sympathy. In the stress of war it was at once a relief, a delight and an advantage to be able to talk with him freely." With Balfour, who became Foreign Secretary, succeeding Grey at the end of the year, House's relations were almost as intimate. In the posthumous memoirs of the great British statesman which have just appeared, Balfour said: "History will assign him a unique position. I saw him under the most varying and often the most trying circumstances, and found him al-

ways resourceful and always with unruffled temper."

With the Germans, House never developed such friendly personal relations, but it is plain that they put great confidence in his sincerity and good judgment. The German Chancellor and Foreign Secretary talked with him frankly, and on more than one occasion the German Ambassador in the United States expressed his gratitude for House's interest in the cause of peace. The Colonel was equally esteemed by the French. Clemenceau once said to his friend, Martet: "House was the window through which the light came in to Wilson." And later he wrote: "A good American, very nearly as good a Frenchman, a sifting, pondering mind—above all, the traditional gentleman. * * * Were it only for picking out this good auxiliary, Mr. Wilson would deserve the gratitude of the friends of humanity."

The plan of Wilson and House was embodied in the famous memorandum drafted by the latter with Grey in February, 1916. According to this memorandum, the President of the United States would propose that a conference should be summoned to put an end to the war. If the Allies accepted the proposal and Germany refused it, the United States would probably enter the war against Germany. If such a conference met but failed to secure peace, provided Germany were unreasonable the United States would probably leave the conference as a belligerent on the side of the Allies. House indicated to Grey the general terms of a "reasonable" peace: the restoration of Belgium, the transfer of Alsace-Lorraine to France, the acquisition by Russia of an outlet to the sea, compensation to Germany for losses in Europe by concessions outside Europe. The memorandum was couched in the conditional rather than in the absolute sense; Wilson would make no definite promises, inasmuch as the power to declare war resides in Congress and since the President

shares with the Senate the control of foreign policy. But as a matter of practice the President determines the question of peace and war, and the expression of his intention might fairly be regarded as a categorical guarantee of the future action of the United States.

This plan provided the nearest approach to successful mediation in the history of the war. At the worst, if the proposed peace conference failed to achieve a settlement the United States would be drawn into the war on the side of the Allies. Such a contingency, however, was almost certain to happen (as ultimately appeared in April, 1917) if the war continued through the year. On the other hand, if the proposed conference should succeed, the war might have been ended without American participation and upon terms probably superior from the point of view of the general welfare of the world to those which were ultimately dictated at Versailles. In any event, the Allies were practically guaranteed by the plan against a German victory and were promised peace conditions which today appear reasonable. But they permitted month after month to elapse without taking any advantage of the opportunity.

While the United States Government was anxiously seeking means to end the war and thus avoid participation, the Germans, with equal eagerness, worked to bring about a peace conference which might end the war at the moment when their military superiority was still unbroken and before the effects of the economic blockade became decisive. In September Gerard telegraphed from Berlin a renewal of the German desire for Wilson's mediation, and during the following weeks there came to Washington constant news of Germany's anxiety to bring about a peace conference. Any offer of their own they postponed, in the hope that Wilson would take action. The President was naturally fearful of becoming, or appearing to become, the tool of German

interests. At the same time he was bound to explore every opportunity of bringing about a conference. On Nov. 29 a telegram from Lansing to Mr. Grew, our Chargé in Germany, intimated that Wilson was ready to intervene but was greatly embarrassed by submarine activity and by the Belgian deportations: "What the President is now earnestly desiring is practical co-operation on the part of the German authorities in creating a favorable opportunity for some affirmative action by him in the interest of an early restoration of peace." Further pressure was brought to bear upon Wilson by intimations that unless peace were secured the German pledges regarding the use of the submarine would be withdrawn. On Oct. 1 Mr. Grew telegraphed his belief "that an early resumption of indiscriminate submarine warfare is not unlikely. It is doubtful whether the Chancellor can continue to withstand steadily increasing public sentiment in favor of such a step, in view of his increased weakness in the Reichstag." Later telegrams indicated that the German Chancellor was fighting desperately to prevent the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare in the hope that before Christmas a peace conference might be called.

Obviously nothing could be done by Wilson until after the Presidential elections of early November. If he failed of re-election, his successor might adopt an entirely different policy. Colonel House was on the whole opposed to an open offer to call a peace conference unless the previous acquiescence of the Allies was secured. It was certain that they would not enter such a conference unless the general principles of their peace terms were accepted. Immediately after the election, President Wilson intimated to House that he was about to write a note to the belligerents demanding that the war cease. "His argument is that unless we do this now, we must inevitably drift into war with Germany upon the submarine issue. He

believes Germany has already violated her promise of May 4, and that in order to maintain our position we must break off diplomatic relations. Before doing this he would like to make a move for peace, hoping there is sufficient peace sentiment in the allied countries to make them consent."

But the Germans had wearied of waiting for Wilson's mediation. Their diplomatic position had been strengthened by the overwhelming defeat of Rumanian armies; popular pressure for the resumption of the unrestricted submarine campaign continued. On Dec. 11 the State Department received from Ambassador Penfield in Vienna word that the Central Powers would issue an identic appeal to the Entente Powers to arrange a peace conference; and on the following day the note appeared. The proposal was couched in general terms, but its tone permitted the interpretation that Germany would consider no peace which was not one of victory. The feeling of the Spanish Ambassador in Berlin, as telegraphed to Washington by Mr. Grew, was that the allied governments could not accept the offer and that Germany would shortly resume ruthless submarine activity. There was some ground to believe that the note was approved in various German quarters because its refusal by the Allies would apparently justify indiscriminate submarine warfare. In the circumstances it might have been better if Wilson had withheld his note, for the German offer was bound to rob it of any effect it might have had. But Wilson decided to issue the American call to a peace conference, which had already been in preparation before the German offer appeared. On Dec. 18 the Secretary of State transmitted to the Ambassadors and Ministers in belligerent countries the suggestion that all belligerents state their views as to the terms upon which the war might be ended.

The German and the American ef-

forts to bring about a peace conference were foredoomed to failure. The German peace proposal contained no concrete terms, and the Allies refused to be pulled into a conference in which they felt it certain that Germany would advance peace conditions based upon a military superiority which the Allies believed to be temporary. Wilson's request for terms they would answer, but in such a tone as to eliminate any possibility of agreement between the belligerents. The German reply to Wilson was quite indefinite. It merely repeated the suggestion of a conference, without any exposal of specific terms. Ambassador Gerard wrote on Jan. 9: "Germany wants a peace conference in order to make a separate peace, on good terms to them, with France and Russia. Then she hopes to finish England by submarines, then later take the scalps of Japan, Russia and France separately."

Thus the year 1916 ended, without any improvement in our relations with the belligerents. Resumption of indiscriminate submarine attacks was imminent. "We are on the verge of war," Colonel House had written in November; and the complete failure of all efforts to achieve peace brought us even closer to it. As we now know from recently published documents, the German Government, when it became evident that their suggestion of a peace conference had failed, immediately proceeded to consider the desirability of authorizing ruthless submarine warfare. Wilson himself had not lost hope, and Ambassador Bernstorff was still willing to try to secure definite terms of peace from Germany. But on Jan. 9, 1917, the die was cast and the Chancellor and the Kaiser gave their approval to the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare. Realizing clearly that the decision meant the entrance of the United States into the war, they were nevertheless ready to face the consequences.

British Labor Government: Its Successes and Failures

By L. HADEN GUEST

Former Member of Parliament

[The British Labor Government has, since the writing of the following article, successfully weathered various attempts to force a general election. On Nov. 27 the government won a decisive victory in the House of Commons when a Conservative motion of censure on the conduct of the Imperial Conference was defeated, amid scenes of wild disorder, by a majority of 65. The House of Lords, however, on Dec. 2 in a similar motion roundly censured the government by a vote of 74 to 10. Meanwhile, the Canadian Premier, R. B. Bennett, had denounced the Labor Government for its stand on reciprocal tariff preferences at the conference. In the midst of these attacks, the government succeeded in averting a widespread strike in the British coal fields, although it was unable to prevent the strike of 92,000 Scottish coal miners. A by-election in Whitechapel on Dec. 3 was won by the Labor candidate, but by a greatly decreased majority. Thus, while many evidences pointed to the flow of sentiment away from the Labor Government, the situation was still most uncertain, and even Conservatives were ready to admit at the end of November that a general election was still not in sight.—Editor, *CURRENT HISTORY*.]

THE second Labor Government came into office in Great Britain as the result of the general election of May, 1929. The previous Conservative Government had had a majority of 215, and the change was greater than was expected. Many seats were gained in constituencies where it was not expected, and only one Labor seat lost, in Birmingham, owing to special local circumstances. But the

previous Conservative Government itself had come into office as the result of a sweeping victory in the Autumn of 1924. The "swing of the pendulum" of voters against the government in power has nowadays a wider range than previously, as almost the whole adult electorate is enfranchised and a large proportion use their votes. But the swing to the Labor or Conservative side (the Liberals count less and less every year) is determined by a minority of the voters who are unstable in their allegiance and who transfer their weight to the main mass of voters on one or the other side. The Conservatives in 1924 won on the Zinoviev letter—the "Red letter" scare. Labor in 1929 won because of the feeling that trade unionists had been treated unjustly by the Conservative Government's trade union restriction act and because of the resentment of the coal miners against the act prolonging their hours of work from seven to eight.

Looming behind these immediate grievances and irritations there was an attractively suggested picture of a world made new in the sphere of social and economic relations. In international affairs Labor orators spoke with a real passion of the need for disarmament, international justice and peace. But overshadowing everything else was the demand of the Labor party for a remedy for unemployment. Some Labor candidates at

the 1929 election went so far as to declare that their party had a definite "cure" for unemployment, meaning by that the application of socialism. But practically all Labor candidates professed and believed that the party could more effectively tackle the problem of unemployment than the Conservatives. The Liberal cure for unemployment professed at the 1929 election was simply rejected by the electorate and almost ignored.

The result of the 1929 election was to return 288 Labor members, 260 Conservatives, 59 Liberals and 9 Independents. Of the Independents 6 vote in the Labor lobby as a rule. Labor is thus in a minority in the whole House and dependent for support on the Liberal party.

The Labor Government in office found itself with a definite policy on international affairs, but with indefinite policies on the problems of unemployment and home affairs generally and on the problems of political and economic organization of the Empire. And it was hampered by the fact of its minority position, policies could be carried into effect only by an agreement with one of the other two parties. In the field of foreign affairs the Labor Government was able to carry its policy into action with a large measure of general agreement—an agreement reinforced by the British constitutional tradition of "continuity" in the policy of the Foreign Office.

Before the Labor Government came into office there had been discussion of the question of a meeting between the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain. Mr. MacDonald took immediate steps to have that meeting arranged, and it took place in October, 1929. The joint statement, signed by the President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, speaking in this case for the whole of the Commonwealth, is a document of great significance in the history of international relationships, and one which produced

a very favorable effect on public feeling in Great Britain. And the treaty of naval limitation accepted by the British Commonwealth, the United States and Japan is recognized as being a real step forward of the organized forces making for world peace.

It is also to the credit of the MacDonald Government that British leadership at Geneva helped largely to secure the evacuation of the German Rhineland, which was completed on June 20, 1930, and at The Hague to bring about the definite settlement of the reparations liabilities of Germany and the Central States. Further, Great Britain has signed the optional clause for the pacific settlement of all legal disputes and is adhering to the Washington Eight-hours Convention. The renewal of diplomatic relationships with Soviet Russia is generally approved, on business grounds, in Great Britain, and the government's policy of firmness in Egypt and in India finds also general support.

It may therefore be said that in the field of international relations the Labor Government has amply fulfilled expectations, and the strength of the government at the present time depends on its prestige in the international field and on the fact that no other party desires to take upon its shoulders the heavy responsibility of dealing with the situation in India.

In the field of home affairs the situation is very different. The most important measure carried through by the present Parliament is that which establishes a State-supervised organization of the coal industry. This is welcomed by the miners as a step toward nationalization and because it reduces the miners' working day to seven-and-one-half hours. This coal mines act is regarded as a definite, if small, instalment of socialism and may be followed by similar legislation applicable to the Lancashire cotton industry.

Another important measure is that which makes it more easily possible for the clearance of slums to take

place. This is a matter of first-class concern in Great Britain, since the slums are factories for the making of physical, mental and moral defectives in a real sense and they are the cause of a great deal of chronic inefficiency. Further legislation to assist in the relief of poverty has been passed; widows' pensions have been increased; the Poor Law has been humanized, and the Unemployment Fund further subsidized. There have also been efforts to assist agriculture and forestry and certain minor measures.

In dealing with the problem of unemployment, the matter of chief concern at the general election, the Labor Government has been unsuccessful. Schemes have been sanctioned by Parliament making provision for the development of roads, railways and docks, of gas, water and other public services, and of land reclamation in Great Britain and Colonial development overseas. The total value sanctioned already amounts to over \$600,000,000, but is spread over a period of years. And not all these schemes have prevented the figures of unemployment in Great Britain from rising to over 2,000,000 nor the Labor party from being very severely criticized inside as well as outside its own ranks.

There was already serious criticism of the Labor party at its annual conference in October, 1929. Since then the criticism has not only intensified but become embittered. The resignation of a junior Minister, Sir Oswald Mosely, in May, 1930, was one sign of the darkening storm. What was known as the "Left Wing" of the Labor party in 1929 has since definitely solidified into an Independent Labor party group under the leadership of James Maxton. This group has its regular meetings and makes its own decisions. At the opening of Parliament in October, 1930, it proposed a purely Socialist amendment to the address condemning the Labor Government and carried it to a division. The I. L. P. group, which numbers about

twenty, includes the "Clydesiders" (Messrs. Maxton, Kirkwood, Campbell Stephen and Buchanan), Oliver Baldwin, the son of the former Conservative Prime Minister; E. F. Wise, the economist; Fenner Brockway, the pacifist, and Miss Jenny Lee, the youngest woman in Parliament.

The most significant feature of the change in the Labor party between 1929 and 1930 is the outspoken nature of the condemnatory criticism expressed by members of the party. At the 1930 conference Miss Susan Lawrence, M. P., the chairman, had to defend the government against the charge of being a "government of doles." Mr. MacDonald had to make a fighting speech on the defensive, refusing "apologies" but saying that "the plow was in the furrow" and his place and that of the party was in the furrow behind it. He put the blame for the unemployment situation on the world trade depression and said that high taxation was caused by war-debt settlements made by previous governments. After this speech the Prime Minister received no bouquets, and had instead to resist the following motion formally proposed on behalf of the I. L. P.:

"This conference views with alarm the failure of the government to apply the bold unemployment policy outlined in *Labour and the Nation*. It believes this failure to be due to the government's timidity and vacillation in refusing to apply Socialist remedies."

Mr. Maxton, supporting this motion, said that the government had failed and that there had been no substantial amelioration of the lot of the working classes. The I. L. P. motion was heavily defeated, and, worded as it was, no other result could have been expected, unless it were desired to bring about the immediate resignation of the government. But the tone and the wording of the resolution reflect a great deal of opinion in Great Britain inside and outside the Labor party.

There is a powerful tide of opinion flowing against the Labor party at the present time, while the "Left Wing" influence in the Labor party is strengthening its position and considers that it carries the fate of the government in its hands. It is interesting, as a reflection of the economic difficulties of Great Britain, to realize that the only subject on which the members of the I. L. P. group are not united among themselves is on the advisability of a continuance of free trade or the beginning of a tariff policy. The I. L. P. group, however, is now openly discussing the question of forming a separate party in Parliament and a separate party in the constituencies.

The main body of the Labor party, while restless and critical in private, continues to support the government in the House of Commons. The movement of the government is away from the extremists toward a modified Labor policy on which they can be sure of the support of the Liberal votes in the House of Commons. It is also essential, from the point of view of the official Labor party, to be certain of Liberal votes in the constituencies, and this consideration undoubtedly stiffened the government in its "free trade" attitude at the Imperial Conference. Since no proposal could be more unpopular in Great Britain at the present time than one to place any taxation on food, in this matter the government is on firm ground.

The Labor Government of Great Britain is not exceptional in its failure to solve the problems of unemployment, and the fact that the world is passing through a period of general depression prevents the criticism of the Labor party from being as severe as it might be otherwise.

Some members of the Labor party made extravagant claims for the party's ability to solve the unemployment riddle in the past, and these claims have now been shown to be unfounded. While the reaction from this discovery is to drive some twenty

members of Parliament into the formation of a semi-opposition "group," its reaction on the other members of the party, who number more than 260, is to drive them in the direction of a moderate policy capable of being supported by the Liberals. The minority become more extreme; the majority move toward the centre of the political field. Because the majority come more toward the centre of the political field, they are now paying greater attention than ever before to the question of economic organization of the empire. The results of the Imperial Conference may have been disappointing to the empire zealot, but at least he is obliged to admit that the conference under the auspices of a British Labor Government was anything but revolutionary. Two results of the conference—a greater clearness of definition of the free position of the dominions and a definite advance toward greater economic cooperation within the empire—further indicated the movement of the Labor party toward a more central position in British political life.

The Labor party may lose its "Left Wing" and it may have to confess failure with regard to unemployment, but the general judgment is that it has honestly tried to carry out its policy, and its failures will be ascribed, by the ordinary voter, more to circumstances and its minority position than to any other cause. The storm and stress, the criticism and disillusion, through which the party has passed, have made it more cautious, more moderate and perhaps more national. Despite hesitancy and failure with regard to unemployment the party is still very strongly entrenched in the sympathies of the electors. Faced with a united and powerful opposition at the next general election Labor would lose many of its members of Parliament, but with the Conservative party divided between the empire free traders and the official Conservatives, the Labor Government has prospects of remaining in office.

Versailles Treaty Revision Under Discussion

By GERHARD HIRSCHFELD

[Since the writing of the following article on the movement for revision of the Versailles Treaty, two incidents have strongly emphasized this problem of international politics. The first of these was the meeting of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission in Geneva during November. Count Bernstorff asserted in the course of the commission's debates that unless the powers adhered to the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, Germany would seek a revision of the treaty which would allow her to build up a strong defensive force. This statement received the half-hearted support of Italy and the general adherence of the Balkan States. In Germany Dr. Curtius, in reference to von Bernstorff's declaration, told the Reichsrat on Nov. 20 that the peace treaties must be revised. The second of these incidents which brought out the need for changes in the peace settlement was the election rioting in that part of Polish Silesia which before the war was German. The author of this article is the American correspondent for a number of European publications and is familiar with European sentiment and political developments in regard to the Treaty of Versailles.—Editor, CURRENT HISTORY.]

SENTIMENT for revision of the Treaty of Versailles is today sweeping through the nations of Europe. With Germany at the vortex it is growing in an ever-widening circle. Around Central Europe it whirls, drawing in unsettled post-war problems to disturb neighboring countries and nations as far distant as the United States. Already treaty revision has become the burthen of political speech in more than one country; has played a major part in impover-

ished Germany's elections, and in these days of economic depression has appeared as a possible way out of distress and back to normalcy.

The treaty wrought tremendous changes in the map of Europe. Its signing marked the launching of an entirely new era in Europe; it meant the disruption of the old militaristic *Entente Cordiale* and the *Dreibund*; it aimed to end all wars, and toward this purpose provided for disarmament and for the establishment of new, independent small powers to allow scope for healthy national feeling and development.

In the minds of revisionists the treaty thus far has failed of many of its purposes. Naval disarmament, in spite of the London conference, remains a chimera. The establishment of new, independent nations has, indeed, provided an outlet for nationalism, but this same nationalism today seriously threatens the peace of Europe. And Germany, poverty-stricken under a staggering load of debt, financially desperate and on the verge of grave internal disorders, is a living example of the injustice of the theory that to the victors belong the spoils.

In the controversy over the revision of the Versailles Treaty there are three schools of thought: The first, the defeated nations which accepted the treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, Neuilly, Trianon and Sèvres against their will, consistently demand revi-

sion; the second embraces victor nations which, for one reason or another, are now swinging in line for revision; the third consists of the unrelenting foes of any changes that might affect the present European alignment. Among the latter are the nations which profited most by the negotiations at Versailles.

While the slightest constructive step toward revision might well release terrors such as Pandora's box never knew, it is conceded that revision would be perfectly legitimate, since readjustment of the treaty has been provided for in Article XIX of the League of Nations covenant. It was Herr Gottfried Treviranus, former German Minister of Occupied Territories, who pointed this out in his provocative speech during the ceremonies in the Reichstag on the anniversary of the Weimar Constitution.

Being the heaviest loser, Germany naturally sounds the note for treaty revision. The importance of many of her demands has been conceded by nearly all competent international authorities. Germany's sole war guilt is no longer recognized save by implacable Germanophobes, who have apparently declined to give even a superficial glance at the revealing documents which have been published since 1918. Solution of the minorities problems in Silesia, the Tyrol, the Saar Valley and the Polish Corridor is considered economically and politically essential by almost all foreign authorities. And, lastly, it is a recognized fact that German disarmament was stipulated in the Treaty of Versailles with the specific understanding that other nations should also disarm. The military budgets of the former allied nations display a lamentable unwillingness on their part to comply.

Weighty as all these arguments are, however, with regard to justification of treaty revision, there is one that is weightier still—the problem of reparations. A country which is expected to pay reparations and to fur-

nish the money to rebuild a war-wrecked continent, must have at least a favorable trade balance. But Germany is not even self-supporting. Impoverished by the war and by the disastrous inflation which followed it, her people have lost most of their buying power and her industries have been forced to throw their products into the world's markets to compete with America, Great Britain, France and now a dangerously active Soviet Russia. German manufacturers have had to depend upon foreign loans. Millions of American dollars have been poured into Germany, enabling German industry to install modern machinery, to mechanize factories, to reduce the cost of manufacturing and to bring her into a position where she might hope to compete with foreign producers. But competition is becoming keener as world-wide losses have spurred producers to unprecedented activity. German manufacturers, taxed up to their hilt, and German citizens, paying out 30 per cent of their income, look at their 3,000,000 unemployed and ask: "How are we to continue to pay reparations, and where is the money coming from?"

Actually, German reparations have been paid and are still being paid out of foreign loans. So long as the United States and other nations are willing to advance the money, all is well. But if Adolf Hitler and his Fascist partisans or some other individual or factor should by word or deed undermine German credit abroad, what then? It is the widespread economic depression in Germany and her inability to meet these reparations payments out of her own resources that is the real cause of the German demand for treaty revision.

So far as Germany is concerned, the payment of reparations is no longer a question of high finance and international economics but has become the problem of the ordinary working man who now realizes for the first time that it is he and his children who, to meet these post-war payments,

must bear the burden of colossal taxation which is slowly sapping the life-blood of the nation. This is the explanation of Hitler's victory at the polls. Mere anti-Semitism, which has always existed in Germany, or demagoguery, would be insufficient to increase in one single election the Reichstag representation of the National Socialist party from 12 seats to 107. Hitler mingled with the cry of distress a call of hope and action.

Austria's dilemma, not dissimilar to that of Germany, is if anything more intense. Transformed by the Versailles Treaty from a monarchy with a population of more than 52,000,000 into a small, weak State of 6,500,000, with Vienna representing one-third of the total population, Austria is suffering even more marked economic distress than Germany. While problems of minorities, such as exist in Bohemia and Moravia, are real issues awaiting solution, once again it is financial distress which prompts Austria to cry aloud for treaty revision. Disruption of the monarchy in 1918 split Austria-Hungary into seven States, leaving Austria itself an economic torso. Loan after loan has been thrown into this small republic not to rebuild it but to care for its most urgent needs. The money has fed, clothed and housed the people, helping them to maintain their bare existence until some better provision should be made.

Surrounded by political and economic enemies, traditional enmities and insurmountable trade barriers, Austria has but one friend left and that friend is Germany. Where else can she dispose of her small surplus production? Her own people are unable to care for their own essential needs, let alone support what little national industry is left. Austria sees but two possible solutions—revision of her peace treaty, and *Anschluss*, that dreaded union with Germany which France, aided by Foreign Minister Benés of Czechoslovakia, is using every conceivable means in her

power to prevent. Because of economic troubles at least, Austria and Germany have captured the sympathy of the world.

Even in France, where antagonism and antipathy still run high despite Locarno and the Kellogg pact, some advocates of revision have come forth on purely sportsmanlike grounds. Perhaps the most important as well as the most surprising of all is Raymond Poincaré, who in a volume written under government auspices is reported to have displayed a remarkable change of heart toward the war guilt of Germany and Austria. He is said to make the confession that the French Foreign Office was mistaken in believing that Austria's mobilization preceded Russia's in 1914 and that the shoe in truth was on the other foot.

In Great Britain there is at least one school of thought that looks toward some revision of the Versailles Treaty. This school consists of the old order of statesmen and diplomats who want no nation to predominate, but desire a nicely balanced strength among the leading nations on the Continent. Also, the white heat of Franco-British friendship which existed during the war has been cooled to some extent by France's refusal to pay her war debts to British nationals on the basis of the value of the franc at the time the loan was contracted. This would save France exactly four-fifths of her indebtedness, but there are many in Great Britain who openly and bitterly denounce this policy as unethical, if not downright unscrupulous. Relations between France and Great Britain were further strained at The Hague last year when British statesmen, cooperating with Americans, brought strong pressure to bear upon the French demands during the Young plan negotiations.

The most prominent advocate of treaty revision is Premier Benito Mussolini. He was the first head of a victor nation to admit that the treaty was signed when the war fever was

at its height and to declare that the document has failed entirely in its purpose of liquidating post-war problems. His statements were made in connection with Briand's Pan-Europa proposal, and their theme was that the war must be finally and absolutely liquidated before a new and better organized Europe could be thought of. Mussolini's political altruism has been somewhat dulled by his imperialistic policies in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean and Africa.

In the United States revision has been openly demanded by a number of prominent figures as well as a number of leading historians. Dwight W. Morrow first used treaty revision in a political campaign when speaking for the Republican nomination for United States Senator from New Jersey. William Randolph Hearst has swung the full force of his press behind revision. Congressman Frederick A. Britten, chairman of the House Naval Affairs Committee, has declared that revision is the only alternative to another European war.

Against these revisionists is arrayed tremendous opposition. First there is France, who, the only European nation to make a real profit out of the war, is determined to maintain the status quo at all costs. The slightest change would react to France's disadvantage either in loss of reparations, in prestige or in actual loss of territory in the unraveling of the minorities tangle. Not only is the French Government committed to a definite policy of maintaining the war gains but it is substantiated by the powerful pressure of public opinion. Frenchmen claim that the millions of soldiers who died in Flanders left a great heritage to the French people, and that if the Treaty of Versailles is challenged, French honor is challenged, too.

In Great Britain, in opposition to those who would welcome revision, there are those who put first the safety and well-being of the empire. Great Britain's tremendous struggle

to keep the empire intact and the problem of her 2,000,000 unemployed in the worst economic depression in decades, seems to preclude the possibility of any reduction in her share of reparations payments from Germany as long as she is in debt to the United States. Chancellor of the Exchequer Snowden told the delegates at The Hague that Britain was getting the short end of the reparations stick at best and that she had no intention of giving in further to France or to any one else. Isolated in an ocean of tariffs and prohibitive duties, Great Britain depends upon German reparations to liquidate her war debt to America.

Many of the Balkan States, of course, owe their very existence to the Treaty of Versailles. Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, Rumania and Greece, hanging on for dear life to the territories given them by the treaty, can safely be counted upon to relinquish them only after a spirited struggle.

But it is reparations, the first and foremost problem, that must be the initial step toward any revision. The United States insists on settlement of war debts by the former allied nations, whether they receive reparations or not, and the Allies make their attitude on reparations dependent upon the position America assumes. But as Washington seems ill-disposed to grant further concessions, the Allies have an excellent excuse for refusing to consider reparations reduction, and the whole problem is unceremoniously passed back to the United States.

If any change is to be made, the Bank for International Settlements at Basle, Switzerland, created as part of the Young plan, will prove a powerful factor. Instituted to arrange the collection and distribution of reparations payments, the bank has grown into a far greater organization than originally contemplated. It has become a dominant factor in world economics, with international financial cooperation as its aim.

The Present Position of American Churches

By H. PAUL DOUGLASS

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THE present position of the church in the United States is disclosed in the United States Census of Religious Bodies made in 1926 and published in the late Spring of 1930. This official source of information puts beyond dispute some of the more familiar aspects of organized religion. It shows 232,000 churches divided among 212 denominations with a combined membership of 44,380,000 persons 13 years old and over—approximately 55 per cent of the population of the United States. Some 10,000,000 additional child members are reported, but the denominations vary greatly in the counting of children, so that a strictly comparable total cannot be determined. These churches own buildings worth \$3,800,000,000, besides parsonages and property for educational and philanthropic uses, and spend annually \$851,000,000 upon their current work. The number of churches comes within one-tenth of equaling the number of public schools; Sunday school enrolment is only one-sixth smaller than public school enrolment, and general church expenditures come to 40 per cent of expenditures for public education.

This is an astounding showing. Yet in these still more amazing United States even so vast a church might still be a relatively dwindling one. What then are the institutional trends of the church? How is it going during

the first three decades of the present century? Is it increasing or declining? Are its fortunes ill or happy? Where will it be if present trends continue?

Church membership included just a shade larger fraction of the American people in 1926 than it did in 1916. By this test the church has neither progressed nor declined. Both church and nation slowed down slightly in the last decade and in much the same proportion; and while single-year statistics since 1926 seem to show actual falling off of gains for certain major denominations, they are not general enough, nor long enough continued to demonstrate a trend. Yet the church in these first decades of the century is holding its own numerically.

The great Protestant groups, Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist and Presbyterian, which comprise the bulk of the religious population, have just about maintained their relative numerical proportions. No one has run far ahead of the other and none has fallen appreciably behind. In spite of the sensational growth of certain other denominations, particularly the Mormon and Christian Science, the well-established older faiths still contain over 90 per cent of the nation's total church membership. This is because the erratic fringe tends to ravel out nearly as fast as it is knitted up. Except as between Catholic and Protestants, the main denominational pat-

tern remains little altered for the nation as a whole.

The churches are distributed over the country much as they were twenty or thirty years ago. They have multiplied in proportion as population has come to any area, but remain few where people are few. Under rural conditions, churches are many where people are many, especially where there are two separate races whose institutions must duplicate one another as in the South. And generally where churches are relatively many a larger proportion of the total population belongs to them.

On the whole, the churches go on expressing themselves in the old forms. Public worship and preaching, Sunday schools, a variety of pastoral ministries and oversight, subsidiary organizations within the church along age and sex lines, organized social activities for the group, philanthropy and missions—these continue to furnish the framework on which church life is built. Whether the churches command more week-day time than formerly for their activities is not known, but something is learned by comparing a group of contemporary churches recognized as traditional in outlook and program with a group which has greatly broadened and "modernized" its scope. Both pack about 80 per cent of their total week's attendance into Sunday. Possibly whatever changes have occurred, have had to be confined within a more intensive use of the Christian church's traditional day. The continued devotional and liturgical use of the Bible and of the familiar forms of song and prayer make it unsafe to assume that any essential change has come over the inner experience of devout persons in worship or religious contemplation, however greatly the rationalizations used to justify the experience may have been altered.

There is not a shred of external evidence that the American people are tending to discard the church. Its

more massive aspects are little modified; the inner experiences which it mediates show no trace of qualitative change; it still attracts about 125 women to every 100 men. If this were the whole story it would be unpleasantly suggestive of a highly traditional institution well entrenched in the habits of the nation and not very responsive to the tremendous surge of new life in this age. But this is not the whole story.

America is getting fewer and larger, probably fewer and better, churches. Their rate of increase has been only one-fourth of the population; their average size has jumped from 150 members to 191 in twenty years. The tendency is the same in all regions, and with Negro churches as well as white. However, with the breaking up of solid, racial colonies and the necessity of establishing parishes among the more thinly scattered constituents within the general population, the average size of Catholic churches has fallen.

The redistribution of church membership into larger units has involved the abandonment of many over-small churches, especially in the country. Strange to say, this is sometimes cited as a sign of religious disintegration. But no one cries over the fact that there were 25,000 fewer public schools in 1926 than there were in 1906, for the consolidation of "little red school houses" is recognized as a gain.

Church establishments today are worth more than three times what they were in 1906, and investments in their structures increased 50 per cent faster than national income in recent years. What is true of church property is equally true of current expenditures, which increased by 148 per cent between 1916 and 1926 and rose from \$4.82 per capita to \$10.22. These rates of gain far outrun any shrinkage in the purchasing power of the dollar. The obvious explanation is that growth in wealth under modern methods of mass production is much more

rapid than growth in numbers and that the churches have measurably shared the growing prosperity of the nation.

Growth of church membership, however, has not kept pace with population in cities of 25,000 and over; but neither have school buildings, transportation systems, sewers and methods of city government in the same places. The abnormal growth—particularly of the smaller cities—has left virtually all social institutions behind. It is in the Middletowns of America that churches are most conspicuously behind in the race with population.

The Catholic Church has reported a growth in adult membership considerably slower than that of population, approximately 25 per cent for the twenty years, 1906-1926, as against 39 per cent for all churches. Roman Catholics now constitute 30 per cent of the total adult church membership, in contrast with 34 per cent twenty years ago. This decrease is directly related to the reduction of immigration from Roman Catholic nations, first by the exigencies of the World War, and subsequently by legislation favoring the predominantly Protestant nations of Northern Europe.

Seven major Protestant denominations, on the other hand, report that during the first decade of the century six new persons annually joined the church for every 100 members. During the last decade the rate had dropped to 5 per 100. But new members are drawn first of all from the families of old members. Do church-member families have as many children now as they used to? If not, this factor obviously affects the rate at which the religious birth rate can be multiplied. It would be unsafe to assume that the decline of revivalism—the most characteristic of the earlier Protestant methods of recruiting adherents—accounts for the reduced evangelistic ratio. If the reduction is permanent it can only be made up for by better

conservation of members when once they have been secured.

Contrary to popular impression, a larger proportion of city than of country population has always been in the church. Staggering, therefore, as are losses from the shift of American population from the country to the city, they are probably proportionately lighter than the losses which formerly attended the scattering of population up and down the vast frontier where the institutions of religion did not exist.

Although American Sunday schools have increased during the last twenty years at the same rate as the public schools, their own rate of growth has considerably slowed down. Statistical evidence, accounting in part for the changed tendency, is found in the decline of Roman Catholic Sunday schools, a decline much more than made up by the increase of enrolment in Catholic parochial schools.

On the Protestant side, a marked increase in the number and variety of organized activities for children and youth under church auspices has been registered. Along with this has gone an inclination to give as educational significance and guidance all the character-forming efforts of the Church. Surveys show that virtually all children of Protestant constituencies are in Sunday School at some time during their childhood. The total bulk of church-directed activity properly regarded as educational has proportionately increased, even though the more narrowly systematic form of Sunday school instruction has somewhat declined.

Church benevolences have shared in the great absolute gains in expenditure. The 1926 census showed benevolences receiving twenty cents out of every dollar expended by the Church. While earlier censuses did not report this, eleven large Protestant denominations had exactly the same ratio in 1913. Under the impetus of drives benevolences climbed to a war-time peak about 75 per cent higher than

normal, then declined sharply, and became temporarily stabilized at about the 1913 ratio.

It is popularly believed that church attendance has declined, and certainly fewer traditional services are carried on. Sunday night services particularly are often omitted. On the other hand, Protestant churches, including bodies which in earlier decades opposed such observances, now put vastly increased stress upon the observance of Lent and Holy Week. Massed attendance at particular seasons goes far, though no one knows just how far, toward offsetting the decreased rate of continuous attendance.

While enough small and experimental sects have appeared during recent decades to swell the total list, the really notable trend is in the direction of the combination of denominations into fewer and stronger units. Not fewer than eighteen denominations actually completed such mergers between 1916 and 1926. Most of these took place within the same denominational families, but occasionally between bodies of diverse origins.

The last two decades, likewise, have seen the growth of an extraordinary, extensive and varied system of inter-church cooperation. Perhaps the best known is the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ. Similar inter-church federations cover the most important special fields of church activity. State and local federations parallel the most important of these national movements. The rapidly increasing independent and federated churches represent the revolt of local communities against the evils of the denominational system and a growing capacity to forget sectarian differences.

In the sphere of the church's pastoral relation, a noteworthy trend is reflected in the greatly increased number of church offices open daily for consultation and the meeting of human need. Numbers of people not regularly attached to churches use

these facilities. In this connection there is much more cooperation than formerly between churches and other constructive social agencies. Equally well marked is the growing recognition of recreation as a normal human need to which the church must minister, leading among other things to a wide spread of organized athletics as a phase of church life.

Finally, to manage the very much more complex institution that the Church has become, new types of administrative leadership have had to develop. The Church has called into use skill in organization, promotion systems, publicity, accounting and all the means of institutional efficiency.

The total body of evidence shows that organized religion is growing considerably more rapidly than is population, and that considered in its whole length and breadth, the Church as an enterprise is considerably more than holding its own. Of its lapse or ultimate disappearance one finds no evidence in objective trends covering the first three decades of the twentieth century. To say this is not to deny that much suggests a vast institution keeping up with the age in its externals, but scarcely a thing of originality or keen adaptation. This is enough to give pause to optimism. Many thoughtful minds also doubt whether the value of the Church is commensurate with its bulk and power. Even so, we should be unwilling to be stampeded in our judgment of the times when ecclesiastics with little perspective and short memories report that Church business is bad, or when secularists, with no feeling for the meaning that the Church has for others, assume that it is upon the rocks. It is quite possible too that the reaction against the notion of the Church as the synonym of religion has tended to understate the sense in which it is the symptom of religion. If men keep guarding and cherishing this confessedly earthen vessel, it must be because they still find treasure in it.

The League of Nations Assembly in Action

By CLARENCE K. STREIT

Geneva Correspondent of The New York Times

THOUSANDS of words pour out over the wires from Geneva each September to all the presses everywhere. They tell many a story of the Assembly of the League of Nations in session. But they do not tell the whole story. They tell what the Assembly does, not what it is.

There is something new in man's political world, something dreamers dreamed of in the long ages of the past, but which no father of a boy even 12 years old today knew twelve years ago his son would see. One begins to feel that man has done not so little in his political world when one sits in the gallery of the Electoral Hall in Geneva in September and looks down upon the Assembly of the League of Nations.

There have been leagues of nations, but never, even when the world seemed much narrower, on such a world-wide scale. Most of those leagues were alliances against alliances or a single dreaded power, held together by the bond of a single religion or by the force of a Napoleon. Never a league like this, where one hears in succession a Briton, a Persian, a Siamese, a Chinese, cite the wisdom of Christ, Mohammed, Buddha and Confucius to an Assembly that champions no religion and admits all; where the capitalist and the socialist feel equally at home, where the white listens as respectfully to the black as the black to the white.

Never a league like this one in which the victors, vanquished and neutrals of a war of unprecedented horror and hate sit down together of their own free will—with the conquered in the privileged seat in front because the alphabetical order in the victor's language places *Allemagne* there.

There have been big conferences of nations in the past, but only at great intervals—Vienna, 1815; Berlin, 1878; Paris, 1919—and held for some specific, limited purpose, and ending with their adjournment. What have they to do with an assembly that now regularly each year brings together at Geneva in the month of September the delegates of fifty-two nations from every continent, nearly every Foreign Minister of Europe and not a few Premiers and Ministers of Finance and of Commerce? What have they to do with this assembly that meets not to end a war but to apply a new and positive conception of peace by trying to prevent war, and by cooperating to make that peace more productive of good to all mankind? Sugar beets and air transport, homeless children and hoarded gold, tariffs and tse-tse flies—almost anything can and does come before this assembly. No one can know in advance all that it may treat in any year, for it was established by the covenant to deal "with any matter within the sphere of the League or affecting the peace of the world."

It is a world parliament, where the descendants of the Greeks and the Persians, the Romans, the Gauls and the Goths, the Chinese and the Japanese, the Maya Indians and the Ethiopians survey the work their League has done since the previous September and lay down the program of work to be done before they meet in the following September. It is an annual consultation of doctors to take the pulse of the world. It is a yearly stock-taking of the business of the planet. It is the world's great annual political fair.

To this fair come statesmen to "sell" the world from the Assembly platform the policy of their country or their own private opinions, half-baked, ripe or petrified, to acquire in its lobby market a post of honor in the League or a position of both prestige and power on the Council or the World Court; to trade a concession in the privacy of a hotel room; to exchange views over the restaurant table and confidences at the bar. Here they may find or put on exhibition the latest models in the trade, for if the French Foreign Minister has a European federation to advertise, or the president of the British Board of Trade a tariff truce, or the Austrian Chancellor a Danubian merger, or the commerce ministers of Eastern Europe a preferential duty on grain, or the Bulgarian Minister of Finance an anti-dumping device, one can be sure it will be put on the market in Geneva when the big buyers are assembled there.

Many examples could be given of what a difference the holding of this annual political fair has made in the world. Without it, can one imagine the views of Haiti on the treatment of Negroes in Africa having any effect on the world? Yet a few words spoken by a Haitian in the Assembly concerning South Africa's use of airplane bombs to keep order in its mandated territory precipitated an inquiry that led to South Africa being censured, and finding a way to keep order without bloodshed the next time

it had trouble with the natives. To be sure, without this fair, Finland might have devised the idea of a convention for financial assistance to a State that, having reduced its armament, had become the victim of aggression. But without this fair, can one imagine this idea, which Finland gave the 1926 Assembly, developing in only four years into a treaty signed last September by twenty-eight States?

The value of this annual political fair was especially obvious in the Assembly of 1930. It met in a time of serious economic depression, and statesman after statesman came to the platform to tell the others of the ills his country was suffering, to agree that the only cure lay in international action and to suggest remedies. As a result a series of international meetings was arranged to consider and act upon these suggestions during 1931. In addition to the meetings of the Assembly, where the problem was considered in its world aspects, there were impromptu meetings of little groups of statesmen to consider special points that touched them most. Thus the low tariff countries considered ways and means of defending free trade, and the Eastern European agrarian countries discussed their common grain problem and conferred with the neighboring industrial States of Germany, Czechoslovakia, Austria and Italy on the possibilities of a better exchange of goods. There have been periods of world economic depression before the Assembly existed, but no world conference was called to discuss it, nor did any foreign minister even make it the subject of a diplomatic note in which he sent his views to the other Chancelleries.

Even those who belittle the work of the League most cannot keep away from Geneva in September. One finds three American consuls with their ear to the ground there day after day, and a larger number of American than of British correspondents in the press gallery. One hears, in explana-

tion, that to know what are political tendencies in the world, to feel the way the wind is blowing, one has to be in Geneva in September.

Looking down from the public gallery on the 400 delegates sitting solemnly in the Assembly may produce the impression that it is all talk and no work. Seeing delegates strolling out—often most of the seats are empty—one may surmise that they, too, are bored. But go from the public gallery to the lobby reserved for delegates, those with diplomatic cards and the press, and you find the missing delegates doing some of the intangible work of the Assembly, strolling up and down in couples or gathered together in larger groups. You will find foreign ministers exchanging impressions on the German elections or on the speeches they have just heard by Briand and Henderson who stand chatting by the doors, a Latin-American taking a discreet poll to find out what are the chances of his fellow-countryman in the election of the World Court judges tomorrow, everywhere diplomats and journalists making or renewing contacts.

The actual tangible work is done mostly in the six commissions into which the Assembly divides after some ten days of general discussion. As every member of the League can be represented on every commission, each of the six is an assembly in itself. Their sessions are open to the public, too, but there is little room for others than the delegates in the rooms of the secretariat, in which the commissions must meet until the completion of the new League Palace. Three commissions sit in the morning and the other three in the afternoon. The results of their deliberations are embodied in resolutions, which they recommend to the full Assembly for adoption. The final days of the session are devoted to what is nearly always the pure formality of transforming these commission resolutions into resolutions of the Assembly.

These resolutions are the laws of

the League in the sense that they govern its organization and lay down its working program. Some that appear to deal merely with the internal administration of the League may be of more far-reaching importance than many a treaty, though they require no ratification. Thus it was not the covenant but a resolution of the First Assembly that established the practice of holding regularly each September the Assembly, which is one of the League's greatest contributions to international life. Most of the resolutions, however, are not so much law in themselves as the first step toward international law. Thus a resolution of the last Assembly set up a commission to study European union. If that commission should report back a draft treaty for a European federation the next Assembly would doubtless, by another resolution, convoke a diplomatic conference to consider and sign this treaty, which, when ratified, would have the force of a European Constitution. Likewise, to cite another of many examples, a resolution of the last Assembly called a conference for the limitation of the manufacture of narcotics, and any convention it adopts will, when ratified, be international law.

The onlooker may receive the impression, too, that the work of the Assembly is all cut and dried. This is partly because most of the real fighting usually occurs in the committees and conferences which, between sessions, work out the ideas that the Assembly puts before them. The Assembly is extremely well organized, thanks largely to the experience gained during eleven years by the League Secretariat. Before the Assembly gathers, a number of Secretariat officials scatter to the capitals of their native countries to report the lay of the land as it looks from Geneva and to communicate back to that centre how it looks from the big Chancelleries. At the same time other members of the Secretariat are preparing programs and documents for the As-

sembly, and writing the speech—a review of the year—to be delivered at the opening of the Assembly by the president of the Council, though sometimes he does add a few passages of his own.

While the Assembly is in session, picked Secretariat officials act as the "shadow cabinet" of the president of the Assembly and the chairmen of the commissions. Let a cloud appear in, say, the Second Commission—on economic questions—so small a cloud that the casual visitor would not notice it, and one is likely to see Pietro Stoppani, the director of the Secretariat's economic section, whisper a word in the chairman's ear, or perhaps suggest that it has been the practice of the League to refer such points to a subcommittee, where influence is best wielded by these Secretariat guardians of League tradition, who know just what adjective to put in to placate this country and where to add a phrase to win that country's agreement. This dependence on the Secretariat caused one embarrassing moment when a president of the Assembly, reading from instructions slipped to him by his prompter, gravely announced: "At this point the president of the Assembly will say," before he realized from the laughter that he was giving the show away.

In the lobby, corridors and hotels, the Secretariat officials are constantly and unobtrusively at work. They are, indeed, the contact men of the Assembly. It is a matter of the right word here, mobilizing the right delegates there, suggesting the compromise that will save every one's face and yet contain a kernel of action, the foresight that prevents friction from arising, the diplomacy that smooths it out when it does arise. When one has seen how the Secretariat handles an Assembly of fifty-two nations, a non-League conference, such as the five-power naval parley in London, seems like the work of amateurs.

Part of the remarkable smoothness with which the Assembly operates, however, is due to the fact that the delegates, too, have learned how to work together. Only a small number of the delegates to an Assembly nowadays are new to Geneva. Most of them have already attended not only one but several Assemblies, and some have attended every session. Many visit Geneva several times a year between Assemblies for meetings of the Council or of committees or of conferences. Briand, Massigli and Léger of France; Lord Cecil and Craigie of England; Count Bernstorff and Breitscheid of Germany; Scialoja, Rosso and Pilotti of Italy; Quinones de Leon and Cobian of Spain; Benes of Czechoslovakia and Politis of Greece; Titulescu of Rumania and Zaleski of Poland; Count Apponyi of Hungary and Hambro of Norway; Motta of Switzerland and Procope of Finland; Guerrero of Salvador; Sato and Ito of Japan; Urutia of Colombia; van Eysinga and Limburg of the Netherlands; Prince Varnvaidya of Siam; Hymans of Belgium and Fotitch of Yugoslavia—these and scores of others have become almost as permanent fixtures at Geneva as the Secretariat. They have worked together for years in all sorts of League meetings; they have come to know each other almost as well as the public figures in their own national political life. In this league of men lies much of the strength of the League of Nations.

Among them the Assembly has its favorites, and none greater than Aristide Briand. He is the only delegate who invariably fills every seat in the Assembly, and if word goes round, as it always does, that he is speaking, no matter on what subject, in one of the commissions, the others are deserted not only by the public but by a goodly number of the delegates. He is a favorite not only for his eloquence and wit but because, more than any one else, he has the political understanding, suppleness and tem-

perament required in a league that depends on unanimous agreement for action.

The popularity of Henderson, British Foreign Secretary, is growing, although the last Assembly was only his second, and his ignorance of French, the major language of the League, tends to restrict his direct contacts. Titulescu was not the only diplomat to marvel at a man who had begun life as an iron-puddler and who speaks from the Assembly platform with a pulpit tone rising to this impromptu occasion with "a model of the humorous after-dinner speech." Titulescu himself is liked not only as a witty speaker and as a bountiful host—a reception he gave last September lasted until 5 in the morning—but because at the last Assembly he proved himself one of its most able presidents.

Paul Hymans, Belgium's fertile-minded Foreign Minister, the earnest Lord Cecil, the skeptical and brilliant Vittorio Scialoja, the diplomatic Eduard Benes, the clever Nicholas Politis, the downright Count Apponyi, who alone can speak in the Assembly with the authority of 84 years—any one of these would be greatly missed from Geneva in September. And there are those whose absence is already deeply regretted, among them, courageous Stresemann and stalwart Dr. Nansen.

It is indicative of the kindly tolerance that Geneva engenders that it is far easier to list the men best liked by the Assembly than the men most hated. In general, the Latin-American delegates, as a whole, not as individuals, cause the most irritation because, with some notable exceptions, they seem most interested in using their strong voting power as a bloc to ob-

tain honors and offices for Latin Americans and to secure conventions modified to suit their special interests and then not ratify them. Some circles did not rejoice to see the doughty Carl Hambro enter the Council as a result of Norway's election to that body, nor regret the disappearance of the voluble and outspoken Mariano Cornejo from the Assembly and the Council as the result of the revolution in Peru. Nevertheless, they are favorites in other circles that believe the League needs more plain speaking. For that matter, there are those who think Briand unscrupulous, Henderson hypocritical, Titulescu superficial, Hymans weak, Cecil a demagogue, Scialoja ready to sacrifice anything for a witticism, Benes a lightweight, Politis long-winded, Apponyi harping always on the chord of Hungary's wrongs.

The only true generalization is that the man who has something to say and the courage to say it, the spirit of give and take and breadth of view that includes both the national and the general interest will be more popular in the Assembly than the man who takes too long to say too little, who lacks the spirit of compromise and who either cannot see the forest for the trees or the trees for the forest. In other words, popularity in the Assembly, as elsewhere, is largely a matter of self-adjustment. This new invention, this annual political world fair, is teaching Foreign Ministers, accustomed to a tradition of communication through letters and diplomatic drummers, to accustom themselves to dealing with each other as man to man. It is significant that most of them readily adapt themselves to the new medium.

Unemployment in the United States

By WILLIAM MACDONALD

[Unemployment, its cause and cure, formed the dominant theme of President Hoover's message to Congress on Dec. 2. "The origins of this depression," said Mr. Hoover, "lie to some extent within our own borders through a speculative period which diverted capital and energy into speculation rather than constructive enterprise." Another deep-seated cause cited by the President was "the world-wide overproduction beyond even the demand of prosperous times of such important basic commodities as wheat, rubber, coffee, sugar, copper, silver, zinc, to some extent cotton, and other raw materials. The cumulative effects of demoralizing price falls of these important commodities in the process of adjustment of production to world consumption have produced financial crises in many countries and have diminished the buying power of these countries for imported goods to a degree which extended the difficulties further afield by creating unemployment in all industrial nations. The political agitation in Asia; revolutions in South America and political unrest in some European States; the methods of sale by Russia of her increasing agricultural exports to European markets; and our own drought have all contributed to prolong and deepen the depression."

The extent of the depression was indicated by Mr. Hoover in the following index of activity during September, October and November, 1930:

	Per Cent of 1928.
Value of department store sales...	93
Volume of manufacturing production	80
Volume of mineral production....	90
Volume of factory employment....	84
Total of bank deposits.....	105
Wholesale prices, all commodities..	83
Cost of living.....	94

Mr. Hoover estimated that there were about 2,500,000 persons unemployed and

looking for work, but this number did not include about 1,000,000 unemployed "who are not without annual income but temporarily idle in the shift from one job to another." "We have," he added, "an average of about three breadwinners to each two families, so that every person unemployed does not represent a family without income."

The contribution of the Federal Government to the solution of unemployment has been "the greatest program of waterway, harbor, flood control, public building, highway and airway improvement in all our history," according to Mr. Hoover. The cost of the entire program will come to \$520,000,000 for the fiscal year, as compared with \$253,000,000 spent for these purposes in 1928. The President then proposed that from \$100,000,000 to \$150,000,000 be immediately added to this vast budget, "for still further temporary expansion." Congress responded favorably and promptly to this suggestion by introducing a number of appropriation bills for public works. In the following article Mr. MacDonald traces the course of unemployment and business depression which culminated in President Hoover's action.—Editor, CURRENT HISTORY.]

IT was recognized early in the present crisis that unemployment, in its acute form, was a tragic consequence of the business recession which reached a climax in the stock market crashes of October and November, 1929, but it was not realized until months afterward that the business depression in the United States was only the American phase of a world-wide business demoralization which had been long in preparation. So far treatment of the crisis has consisted of elaborate plans for the ad-

ministration of charitable relief and the application of artificial stimulation to industry and trade; the primary causes of the emergency have been left to be dealt with later. The whole problem is intensified by a lack of satisfactory statistical data on the volume of unemployment for the country as a whole and on the changes in volume from time to time.

The immediate causes of the present crisis go back to the World War. From August, 1914, to November, 1918, from 10,000,000 to 15,000,000 men were mobilized for the purpose of destruction, while about the same number were employed in producing the means of destruction and supplying the armies and navies with food, clothing and other necessities. The result of this sudden extreme distortion of economic life was an extraordinary stimulation of agriculture and industry, attended by the virtual suspension of production in lines not closely related to the prosecution of war.

After the war an exceptionally high rate of production was maintained, with a slight slackening of the pace in 1920-21, until 1927. As a result of this ordinary activity there developed in the United States and certain European countries a productive capacity in industry far in excess of the world's ability to consume, accompanied by drastic efforts to force the sale of surplus commodities in highly competitive world markets. The American stock market, aided by huge volumes of credit for speculative purposes supplied through the operations of the Federal Reserve banks, watched with apparent complacency the rise of security prices to unprecedented heights and the spread of a "get rich quick" mania which took little account of the liquidating value or earning power of the corporations whose stocks were skyrocketing. The limit of this credit inflation and speculative madness was reached in October, 1929, since when the prices of stocks have tended downward with only occasional and short-lived recoveries.

One of the most significant diagnoses of the present depression was made by Thomas W. Lamont on Nov. 14, when he ascribed the world crisis (1) to "production outrunning consumption"; (2) "in part to the effort made in many parts of the world to hold up commodity prices artificially"; (3) "to the fall in the price of silver," affecting the purchasing power of one-fourth of the world's population in India and China; (4) "to a shifting, on an almost unprecedented scale, of gold holdings among various countries"; (5) "to current political unrest in many quarters of the globe, including notably India, China and South America," and (6) "in certain countries of the globe, especially America, to a spirit of rampant speculation."

Other diagnosticians have emphasized the deficiency in the world supply of gold, high production costs due to the maintenance of war-time wages, extravagant expenditure for automobiles and semi-luxuries, the displacement of hand labor by machines or improved processes which in turn increase productive power, a mounting volume of State and municipal indebtedness to be met from future taxes, the issuance of large blocks of securities representing inflated values, the demoralization of textile industries in consequence of changing habits or styles, and the hampering effect of high tariffs upon international trade.

An ominous increase in the number of unemployed in the United States, chiefly in the coal mining industry, the building trades and the textile industries, began to be noted as early as 1927. No special public interest in the situation was shown, partly because statistics of the number of unemployed were not available, partly because of an impression that a condition such as was found in 1921, when some 5,000,000 persons were estimated to have been out of work, would not recur, and partly because attention was diverted to the serious unemployment situation that was de-

veloping in Great Britain and Germany. Even the stock market slump late in 1929 did not at once fix public attention upon the likelihood of a grave unemployment crisis, and the business conferences initiated on Nov. 19 by President Hoover appeared to be concerned primarily with mobilizing the business resources of the country in aid of recovery, and only secondarily with the stabilization of employment or the relief of impending distress.

It was not until March 4, 1930, that the first Federal estimate of the number of unemployed was given out. The figure of 3,000,000 then announced by Secretary of Labor Davis was based on a "fair estimate" that the forthcoming census would show about 46,000,000 persons classed as earning their living, of which number 43,000,000 would be shown to be at work. Mr. Hoover was quoted on March 7 as believing that "unemployment amounting to distress" was confined to twelve States, that conditions elsewhere were "little at variance from those regularly encountered during the Winter season," and that a seasonal resumption of outdoor construction work under the elaborate plans in which railroads, public utilities and other businesses had joined would insure "resumption of normal activity."

The estimate of Secretary Davis was promptly challenged as too low. A statement made in April, 1930, by William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, showed some 3,700,000 unemployed and an estimated loss of wages through unemployment in the first three months of the year of about \$1,000,000,000. A figure "in the neighborhood of 2,000,000" given out by Secretary of Commerce Lamont on June 26, purporting to be based on certain census calculations, took no account of the difference between the jobless, those having no work but able to work and the unemployed, or those temporarily laid off. The number of persons returned

by the census in April as "without a job, able to work and looking for a job" was officially announced on Aug. 23 as 2,508,151, about 2 per cent of the total population. The class so described included the great majority of the unemployed; the increase in November to 3,500,000 unemployed was accounted for by the totals of six other classes of unemployed for which census reports have not yet been published, and by some gain in the aggregate of unemployed during the six months.

Secretary Davis's estimate of March 4 was probably not far from the actual total at that date, but his estimate of June 26 was not only far too low but, in addition, lacked statistical credibility. The tentative estimate accepted by the Department of Labor in November was moderate. Explanations of the persistence with which Mr. Hoover, in his public statements and in semi-official reports of his views, has minimized the extent of unemployment have included ignorance of the facts and a desire to influence the Congressional elections in November; the net effect has been to deepen the conviction that the situation was much worse than the administration cared to admit.

The steps taken by the Federal Government to stimulate a recovery of normal business activity and at the same time provide emergency employment have included enlisting the aid of railway and public utility corporations in pushing forward new construction or improvements, organizing industrial and business leaders under Mr. Hoover's direction to assist in the stabilization of business and appealing to the Governors of all the States for cooperation in encouraging a reasonable construction of public works. Before the end of November, 1929, it was reported that plans involving the expenditure of more than \$3,000,000,000 were being made or were actually in operation. By January, 1930, the estimated aggregate expenditure contemplated had risen to \$7,000,000,000.

From the standpoints of public confidence and employment for labor the immediate results of this colossal program were disappointing. Not more than half the new construction work announced could actually be begun for many months. Confidence in an early business recovery was shaken, after the stock market slumps of October and November, 1929, by steady liquidation, month after month, and an irregular but pronounced movement of prices to lower levels. A marked decline in commodity prices throughout the world occasioned grave concern, and markets for wheat, corn and cotton were demoralized. Reports from Federal Reserve banks and from labor organizations pointed to the continuance of general depression, the growth of despondency and gloom, and a growing volume of unemployment. A marked increase in the number of unemployed "white-collar" workers was noted as the Summer wore on, and the almost unprecedented phenomenon of Summer bread-lines ap-

peared in New York and other cities.

The realization late in September, 1930, that anything like a general business recovery would probably be long delayed, and that in no case was any marked improvement likely to be witnessed before the turn of the year, brought local, State and Federal authorities and private organizations face to face with the necessity of coping with a serious condition of unemployment distress during the coming Winter. The participation of the Federal Government in the organization of relief, begun at the suggestion of the American Federation of Labor, took the form of the selection in October of Colonel Arthur Woods of New York, former director of the Harding Unemployment Commission of 1921, as director of Federal unemployment activities. But if such a diagnosis of the case as Thomas W. Lamont's is correct, even though not complete, something more than present superficial treatment is needed to prevent a return of the disease.

Germany's Economic Plight

By SIR PHILIP DAWSON

Member of the British Parliament

RIGHTLY to understand the present position of Germany we must look back upon what has been taking place there during the last ten years. The outcome of the war and its final debacle compelled the German people to adjust their mentality to conditions they had never anticipated. Although the form of their government was suddenly and radically altered, the army disbanded, the people practically starving and in need of every necessity of life, the fact that law and order were main-

tained was due to the patriotism of the civil service, whose members remained at their posts, to the good sense of the Socialists and their leader, Herr Ebert, first President of the German republic, and to the moral support received from Field Marshal von Hindenburg.

It is remarkable that such an upheaval should have taken place without any of the bloodshed and lawlessness that accompanied the French and Russian revolutions. Until the very last moment of the war the Germans

were led to believe that at the worst they would have mutually agreed upon peace. The continuation of the blockade, the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, the isolation of East Prussia by the creation of a Polish corridor, the dismemberment of the economic unity of Upper Silesia, were blows whose effect is now showing in the attitude of the rising post-war generation. The quartering of Black Troops on a white population in such centres of culture as Bonn was naturally deeply resented. The attempt to detach the Rhine provinces from Germany by encouraging revolutionary organizations, added to the foreign occupation of the Rhineland, to which Germans are attached historically, sentimentally and economically as to no other part of their land, made it extremely difficult to reconcile the people to the facts or to convince them that economic recovery was possible.

Inflation of the currency, which was aggravated by the occupation of the Ruhr, ruined a large number of the best classes of the German people. Not only were savings lost but the pensions received by retired employes became valueless. Realizing that only by their own endeavors could they recover their lost position, the people at once set to work with an energy and firmness of purpose which won the admiration of all who understood what was happening. No one who has not lived through the German inflation can possibly realize the terrible effect it has had upon the bulk of the people. The first steps toward stabilization of the currency were the statesmanlike measures of Dr. Luther and Dr. Schacht, president of the Reichsbank. But even the ability and foresight of these men could not have succeeded without the firm belief of the German people in their own future and their habit of obedience to government authority.

In the difficult adjustments with the Allies Germany was fortunate in having a statesman of the ability of

Dr. Stresemann, who skillfully piloted his country through untold difficulties, often in the face of bitter opposition among his own colleagues. As a result of his negotiations the Dawes plan and Locarno were brought about, and Germany at last felt that she was no longer crushed under the heel of the conquerors but was once more recognized as a nation of equal standing with other powers. As such she became a member of the League of Nations.

The German character is prone to great despondency on the one hand and to overconfidence on the other; it is intensely sentimental, has as yet little political instinct, and is frequently led astray by impractical theories. These national traits had an immediate influence on Germany's post-war development. After four years of isolation the Germans resumed touch with the outside world, more particularly with the United States and the many Americans of German origin. The study of what America had done resulted in the Germans becoming convinced that rationalization coupled with mass production would enable them to recapture the markets of the world. The benefits which might result from copying American methods were carefully investigated by German experts, and many of them adopted, without sufficient guarantee that their application would be suitable to European conditions, or knowledge of their cost, or how the interest and sinking fund requirements and the enormous expenditures involved were to be met. When Lorraine, containing a large portion of the German iron and steel industry, was transferred to France the German Government was bound to make good many of these losses to the industries concerned, and the money thus received was utilized in rationalization. German industry also secured large loans abroad, without sufficient forethought as to how these were eventually to be repaid. Reparations in kind were being made by Ger-

many all over the world, and these kept her industries busy. Foreign countries which received reparations from Germany very naturally placed orders in that country to make up their requirements of goods not procurable during the war period. Furthermore, German municipalities and provinces obtained foreign loans on public utilities in addition to those raised by industry. Building enterprises financed by public authorities were undertaken, many of which, although beneficial to the nation, could not immediately produce earnings to pay interest and sinking fund charges on the loans. There was considerable home demand for the necessities of life and upkeep of property which had to be sacrificed during the war, and this demand stimulated employment. Moreover, the railways required reconditioning and replacement of rolling stock worn out during the war, as well as that which had been ceded at the armistice. German shipping was in a similar position.

American methods of rationalization were introduced in agriculture also, and an attempt was made to improve the output of the fields by the use of chemical manures. Germany's loss of so many of her black coal fields induced the exploitation of her brown coal fields. It was cheaper to convert this inferior quality of coal into electricity on the spot, and transport electricity instead of coal to the consumers for power, light and heating purposes. Large power plants were erected and led to an enormous increase in the use of electricity both for industrial and domestic purposes. The loss of the coal fields also brought about development of German water power.

All this reconditioning meant, in effect, a considerable increase in the output of German industry, so that, although standardization and rationalization should have reduced the number of employees, the extra demand was such as to absorb more than the labor surplus. But while rationalization on a big scale resulted in greater

economy of production when industry was working full blast, it made impossible the readjustment to smaller scale production when the demand decreased. Rationalization also caused small undertakings to be absorbed by the larger ones. This affected commercial houses and banks as well as industries. Nevertheless, persons who in consequence were laid off during the boom period in Germany were able to find other occupations.

This improvement in the economic position and Germany's admission to the commonwealth of nations relieved the people of the necessity of concentrating all their energies on keeping body and soul together, and they began to look round and take stock of their position. The first result was that strong objection was raised to the military occupation of their beloved Rhineland, and great pressure was brought to bear upon the government to free it. Dr. Stresemann and his advisers felt, therefore, that some means must, at all costs, be found to accomplish this. They soon realized, however, that this was impossible until the question of reparations had been satisfactorily settled. Hence the proposals which materialized in the Young plan. A careful investigation should have indicated to the Germans that the proposals entailed great financial sacrifices, and that they must be prepared to shoulder grave additional burdens, which might prove unbearable. If her economic position alone had been considered, Germany would never have consented to the Young plan, but the popular demand to be released from military occupation eventually forced acceptance of the plan; hence the curious situation arose that while Dr. Schacht, influenced by German political opinion, agreed to the proposals in Paris, he afterward rejected them at The Hague, a change of attitude which it is difficult to justify.

Although wages and hours of work have improved considerably since the war, nevertheless conditions of labor

in Germany are not as good as those which obtain in Great Britain. The German Government introduced very comprehensive measures of unemployment insurance, the burden of which has to be borne by employer and employe. But if there is a deficit the government has to intervene and come to the rescue.

The federal government had little control over the governments of the Reich—heavy expenditures by the provincial governments for the making and mending of roads, erection of public buildings, drainage schemes, the construction of electrical undertakings, the harnessing of water power and so on. These undertakings implied not only the raising of large loans but also the fresh taxation which, although supposed to affect the capitalist most, eventually reacted on the people by increasing both cost of living and of production. During the boom period this taxation was not immediately felt, and the political parties, in order to gain public support and ingratiate themselves with the working classes, continued to legislate so as to improve, as they said, the conditions of the people regardless of the financial burdens involved. But with the completion of this rationalization policy, the replenishing of supplies exhausted by the war and the decrease in the reparation demands, German industry has returned to normal production for home consumption and export, with a consequent decrease in output. Meantime the financial crisis in America and the over-speculation on German, American and English Stock Exchanges made it increasingly difficult to raise any more loans for private or public enterprises. Thus production in Germany was curtailed and unemployment became a pressing question.

For some time after the war Germany had an eye on the markets of the East, particularly in India and China, but unsatisfactory conditions there have crushed all hopes in this direction. Industrialists who looked

to Russia for trade were also to be disappointed. For centuries parts of Southern Russia have been occupied by exceedingly successful German agricultural colonies. The German frontier before the war for a considerable distance bordered Russia and there was a large German population speaking Russian and doing excellent business with Russia. After the war large concessions were taken up, and considerable amounts of money spent by Germans in an attempt to resume profitable relations, but owing to the attitude of the Russian Government it failed. Before the war the German army and navy made great demands on manufacturers, especially in the heavy industries. The creation of new independent countries which before the war were important customers of Germany but now are surrounding themselves with tariff walls has caused additional loss.

Since the war a marked change has taken place in the habits of the German people. Large quantities of rye bread used to be consumed by the people and the 800,000 men of the army and navy. Today far more white bread is eaten. An attempt is being made to plant wheat instead of rye, but so far only 25 per cent of the ground planted with rye has been found suitable for the production of wheat. At the same time the output of rye has largely increased with the rationalization of agriculture. Before the war a considerable part of the population lived chiefly on potatoes. Vegetables, fruit and meat are now consumed much more, while the potato crops, owing to rationalization, are producing large surpluses, of which the farmers cannot dispose.

All these factors are responsible for the distressing amount of unemployment not only in the working class but also among the "white collar brigade." The latter, while they do not closely ally themselves with the labor movement, are intensely dissatisfied with the present state of affairs, attributed to government mis-

management, and are therefore peculiarly susceptible to propaganda which promises them relief from all their ills.

There are also a great number of university and high school graduates who find it impossible to secure employment either in trade, industry or government departments at home, and can neither emigrate nor find work abroad. These lend a willing ear to propaganda concerning the oppressive conditions which they are told have been imposed upon them by the Allies and agreed to by their own government. There is, besides, the large class of retired officers and non-commissioned officers of the old army who can scarcely keep body and soul together and cannot find employment. These offer favorable ground for the seeds of dissatisfaction. The reduction of the standing army has made practically impossible the continuance of family tradition in the service. This is a further cause of discontent among comparatively poor but influential persons. There are also the farmers who own most of their own land and find it impossible to make a living. A considerable section of the population in the Ruhr and the Rhine was seriously affected by the military occupation, and considers that their government gravely neglected their interests and was far too subservient to the demands of the Allies.

The result of this general feeling of discontent was shown in the last general election when the Hitler party (National Socialists) scored a success which they had never anticipated.

Unemployment has resulted in the material increase of the Communist party at the expense of the Social Democrats and prolonged unemployment will undoubtedly strengthen the Communists, who are receiving financial and other assistance from Russia. Berlin is used by the Russians as a Communist centre for world propaganda, from which they are doing all in their power to encourage world revolution. Of this the Social Demo-

crats are well aware and they are doing their utmost to combat communism, which they regard as the greatest enemy not only of German labor but of the country in general.

The unexpected strength of the Hitler party in the Reichstag has brought home to the leaders of the responsible German political parties the need for putting their political and financial house in order. The drastic program put before the country by Dr. Bruening has the support of the majority of responsible German statesmen and industrialists, who realize that any doubt as to Germany's honoring her pledges would result in a loss of confidence in her stability and consequent ruin of her political and economic future. Hardly a single responsible person in Germany dreams of rejecting the Young plan or attempting to use force to alter Germany's Eastern frontier.

The German Army remains loyal, although some of the officers naturally look back longingly at the day of the large standing army, with the possibilities of promotion which have now disappeared. Nevertheless the army will, as a whole, obey the government whatever party may be in office.

Unemployment conditions in Germany considered relatively to her population are no worse than in Great Britain,* and the same troubles are being experienced in both countries in connection with unemployment insurance.

It is feared in some German quarters that the Soviet Government, faced with internal trouble, will find an excuse for waging war on Poland, Finland or some other country, or that there may be mass emigration of a starving Russian population over the borders, either of which might further aggravate the Polish frontier question and seriously endanger world

*In a recent speech Dr. Hjalmar Schacht estimated the German unemployed at 4,000,000. Germany has a population of about 63,000,000. At the same time unemployed were said to number 2,285,987 in Great Britain, which has a population of about 44,000,000.

peace. But a careful examination of the facts and discussion with well-informed representatives of the border States convinces the writer that such anticipations are not justified.

Analysis of conditions in Central Europe leads to the definite conclusion that there will be no revolution in Germany and that whatever government may be in office will carry on along the lines of its predecessors. Nor is there any desire even to attempt to alter the western frontier by force. As far as the eastern frontier and the financial and other burdens imposed on Germany by the war are concerned, these naturally are considered intolerable. There is, however, no real thought of any change being possible except by peaceful agreement. There is no reason to think that Germany will restore the monarchy or that the main line of policy which the government has been pursuing will be radically altered.

Revival of military dictatorship would depend on Prussia, but conditions there have changed materially since Bismarck brought about a united

Germany with the King of Prussia as German Emperor. Prussia was then a purely military State under the dictatorship of a militarist monarch. Now she is governed wisely but with an iron hand by a Socialist "Minister President" who can summon or dissolve the Prussian Parliament, who has administered Prussian affairs practically since the end of the war, and who possesses the complete support of the Centre party. All the posts in the Prussian public service are filled by his supporters and he controls the quasi-military police force. As the largest and most important State, Prussia's influence on the destinies of Germany is still paramount. Any attempt at military dictatorship would be immediately suppressed.

It has been feared that when President von Hindenburg dies trouble may arise. Those who are best informed, however, believe that if the present crisis is surmounted, his passing would have no grave effect and that a successor would be duly elected without any change in the form of government.

Charles W. Eliot

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

Professor Emeritus, Harvard University

THE name Eliot at once calls up to most intelligent Americans a character who for sixty years was among the most eminent men in the nation. In the two senses of experienced ability and national renown, Charles W. Eliot was much more than the president of Harvard University or the greatest figure in a group of educational reformers. He was a sage, a prophet, a national character, and at the same time a most livable and loveable man. His

published books were few—a treatise on chemistry, the life of a beloved and brilliant son, collections of addresses and essays. Nevertheless he was a prolific and very effective author because of his fifty reports as president of Harvard College, his very numerous addresses, many of them printed after delivery, and the great influence of his remarkable literary style applied to subjects of great public interest. Public service, in the political sense, he did not enter, although

everybody knows that President Wilson in 1913 offered him the ambassadorship to Great Britain, a post in which his coolness of judgment, his power of statement and his intellectual power would have rendered to the American people a great service.

A year before his death in 1927 appeared a formal biography by Edward H. Cotton. The family then selected for a more formal and complete biography Henry James, son of that William James who was brought into an academic career by President Eliot and remained a lifelong friend. The result of several years of application, with all the immense material freely opened, is the two volumes entitled *Charles W. Eliot, President of Harvard University, 1869-1909* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.). The author has the advantage of a warm family friendship, of much of a lifetime spent in the academic precincts close to President Eliot, and of the personal sympathy and understanding which appears throughout the biography. No later biographer can discover significant material that was not known to James. No later writer can possibly be so much in love with his subject. In form and make-up and bibliographical apparatus, as in spirit, in style and in appreciation of his subject, no later biographer can hope to go beyond this labor of love.

Charles William Eliot led an open life. He was very approachable, in spite of the fact that for the first fifteen years of his presidency he wrote most of his official letters with his own hand and never took kindly to stenographers. No man in the nineteenth century was more thoroughly a New Englander than Eliot, descended from early settlers in Massachusetts, brought up in the heart of the very exclusive Boston society. From his first entrance into the responsibilities of Harvard College in 1869, Eliot showed that strong democratic spirit, that interest in young life and that extraordinary executive capacity which he possessed to the

last hour of his forty years of service as president of Harvard.

Throughout his professional life Eliot had two parallel occupations. Out of a sleepy country college with a few professional schools, not one of which was carried on by scientific methods, he gradually built up one of the great universities of the world. This was brought about first of all by his own intensive scientific training. He is proud of the fact that he was the first college student in America who ever sought the opportunity to do research work in a chemical laboratory, and he once said to the writer that his success in life was due to the fact that when he returned home from Europe the Massachusetts Institute of Technology made him Professor of Chemistry. Eliot's mind was a reasoning machine of great capacity and accuracy.

The new biography brings out in the first volume the decade of hard fighting during which the scholar finally convinced the hard-headed but public-spirited moneyed men of Boston that it was good business to spend millions of dollars in developing a first-class university on a basis of expert professors who could show students how to use their own minds. Indirectly Eliot was a kind of honorary president for half a dozen of the growing universities of the country, for the success of his ideas at Harvard proved the soundness of his educational principles.

Gradually Eliot became a national figure, partly because of his power to affect the minds of ever-widening circles by his addresses. He must have made at least a hundred notable speeches, most of them on reform and education, many on the right kind of living. His great influence, however, came through his persistent attacks upon the rote system of education, all the way from the graduate school back to the primary school. The personal influence of Eliot on the 30,000 or so individual students who were enrolled at Harvard during his presi-

dency was the lesser part of his career as an educator. In his inaugural address at Harvard he laid down what was substantially a program of educational reform. It began with the elective system, which had probably attracted his attention when a student and visitor in Germany. His fundamental idea of education may be crystalized in a sentence, though he never thus formulated it: "Children and youth of all ages are more interested in what they are interested in than in what they are not interested in." Superfluous as that may seem nowadays, it ran counter to the whole theory of American schools at that time, which was that children and young people must learn things by heart and be confined to dull textbooks and go through a predestined course of study, because that strengthened their minds. Eliot's elective system was based upon the idea that a choice of subjects should be offered in an interesting way, and then the student could not plead that he was obliged to do dull and routine work which had no relation to what he was liable to carry on in later life. That principle has been adopted, and sometimes is much abused, by most of the institutions of higher learning in the United States and by a great many secondary schools; and to some degree by primary schools.

Eliot was primarily interested in the colleges of his country, but in a few years came to see that the secondary schools tangled up the colleges by their preparation through rote teaching from poor textbooks. He therefore set himself to improve those conditions, and in 1892 called a series of conferences in nine of the principal lines of study in the high schools. Those conferences were made up partly of college professors and partly of secondary teachers, both men and women. Woodrow Wilson, later President of the United States, sat in the conference on history.

From the reports of those bodies, Eliot, as head of the main committee,

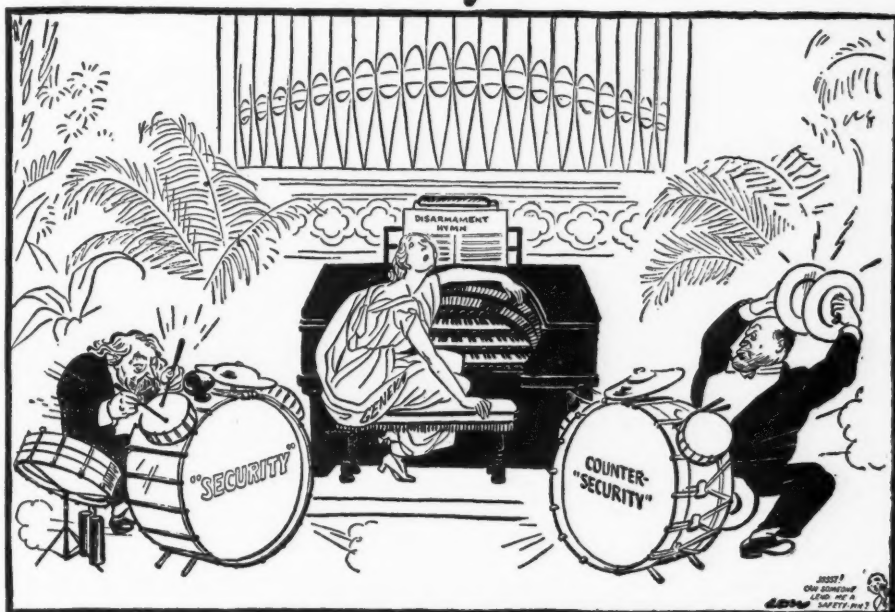
drew up a program of high school studies, including history and science, and that plan was widely followed throughout the country. The influence of this system of interesting study with some allowance for personal choice and selection worked into the grade schools. The present system of American education has been deeply influenced by ideas which must eventually have come to the fore, but which the mind of Eliot systematized and showed to be possible.

Another of the forward-looking ideas of the great educator was that the college course ought to be normally three years, so as to get young men into the professional schools earlier. That plan was adopted by two of the three governing bodies of Harvard University, but was discarded by the board of overseers. Nowadays there is some revival of this idea of shortening the college course.

Eliot's great professional services extended also to the higher education of women. Radcliffe College, founded by a group of Harvard professors, had his warm sympathy and he expected that it would become a part of the Harvard University system on the general plan of Barnard College in Columbia University. One of the professors of Harvard College, with whom Eliot remained on friendly terms, kept up an agitation which brought Radcliffe under a separate board of trustees, although the instruction was and is given only by teachers of Harvard University.

Outside his university duties and obligations, President Eliot exercised a great influence over the whole country as an American sage, resembling Ralph Waldo Emerson. Eliot's numerous addresses on social topics, along with his educational activity, made him a kind of national prophet. After his retirement from the presidency, in 1909, he lived eighteen years, mostly in the quiet of his own home in Cambridge. The World War was a hard blow to his love of peace, but he stood steadfastly by his country.

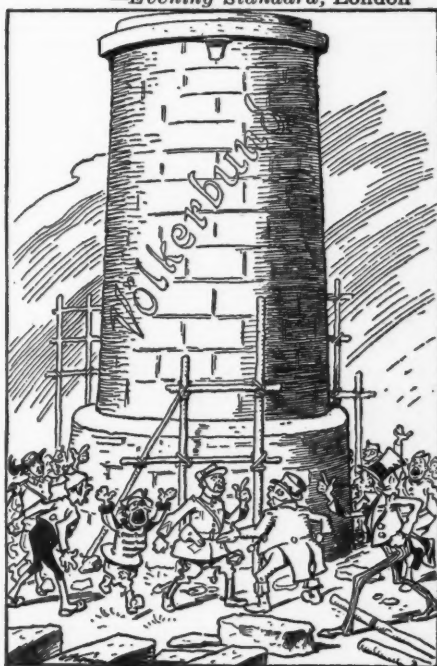
Current History in Cartoons



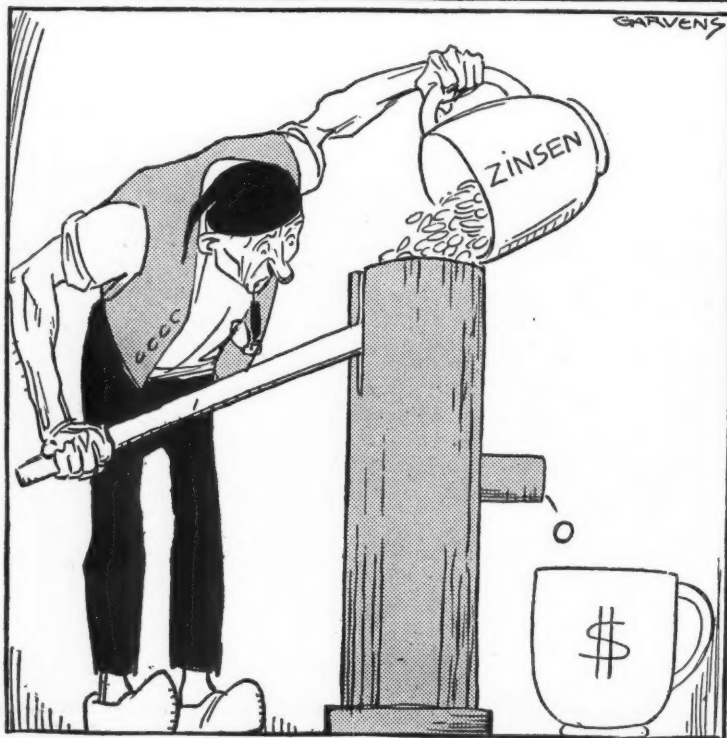
THE TWELFTH YEAR OF REHEARSAL
 Geneva is still waiting for the first performance of the disarmament hymn
 —*Evening Standard, London*



THE SOVIET ERECTS A MONUMENT
 To Briand, inventor of "Soviet Dumping"
 —*Pravda, Moscow*



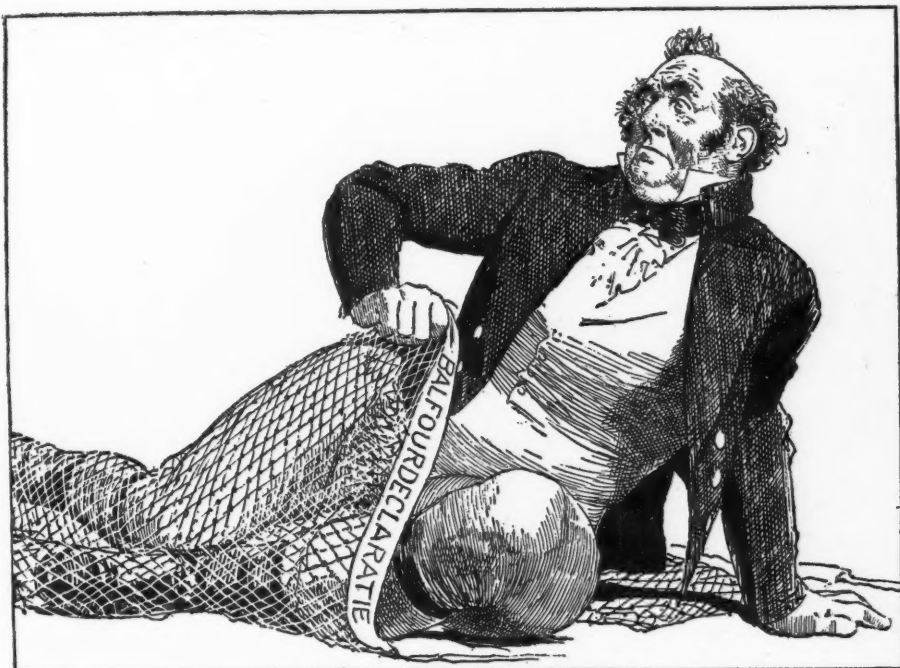
THE LEAGUE TOWER OF BABEL
 "Peace!" "Warships!" "Justice!" "Security!"
 —*Kladderadatsch, Berlin*



FRANCE:
"GOLD FOR
SALE"
—New York
World

GERMANY'S PUMP

German gold
goes in as
taxes and
comes out in
the form of
dollars
—Kladder-
adatsch,
Berlin



ENGLAND AND PALESTINE

John Bull caught in the net of the Balfour Declaration

—De Groene Amsterdammer



THE LABOR GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCES A PALESTINE LOAN

Solomon Passfield: "Come, come, ladies, never mind the baby. Here's something worth quarreling about"

—Daily Express, London



THE NINTH YEAR

Enemies of Fascism: "Courage, another year has passed." "Yes, but we are passing too, while it endures"

—Il '420,' Florence



THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IN SPAIN

Rebels: "Check your hat, please"

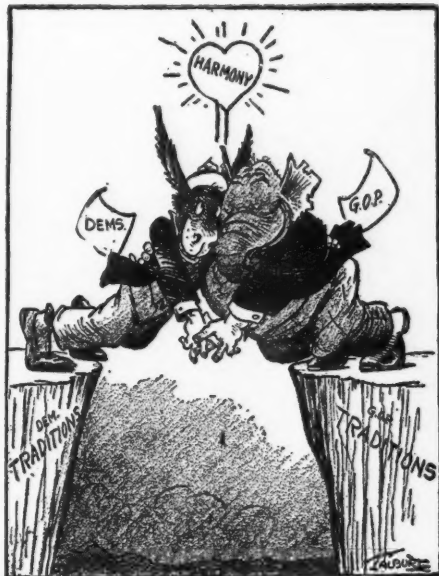
—Baltimore Sun

THE POLISH ELECTION
Pilsudski's victory conceded

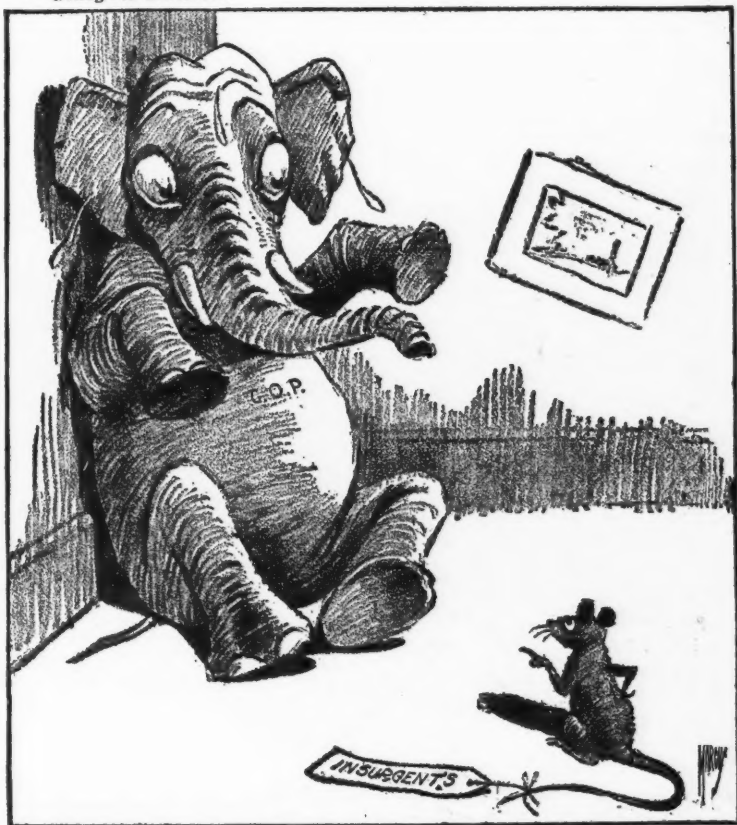
—Dallas Morning News



WILL UNCLE SAM GO ASTRAY?
A Scotch interpretation of prohibition
—Glasgow Bulletin



A DIFFICULT POSE TO HOLD
—Cleveland Press



The Insurgent Mouse: "Now you listen to me!"
—The New York Times



**THE WICK-
ERSHAM
REPORT**

Hoover: "May-
be he'll let us
know if it's
raining or not"
—*The New
York Times*



Uncle Sam:
"Where do we
go from
here?"
—*St. Louis
Post-Dispatch*

The Nobel Prizes in Science

By WATSON DAVIS

Managing Editor, Science Service, Washington, D. C.

THE awarding of the 1930 Nobel Prize in chemistry to Professor Hans Fischer of Munich, Germany, is noteworthy once more as recognition of the value of research in pure science. His recent outstanding contribution was the synthesis, or laboratory production, of hemin, which is one of the components of hemoglobin, the red coloring matter of the blood which is indispensable to the life of animals. Hemin has also been called the respiration ferment, said to rule the organic world. In the higher animals hemoglobin carries oxygen from one place to another in the body, but the respiration ferment, hemin, takes up the atmospheric oxygen, which was transported by the hemoglobin, and transfers it to certain organic substances. These in turn become oxidized. The respiration ferment, or enzyme, rules the organic world because respiration furnishes the driving force in all living cells.

Professor Fischer's synthesis of hemin made possible the artificial production of hemoglobin itself. When he announced this synthesis last year scientists hailed it as an important contribution to the chemistry of living matter. Some claims were made for it on practical grounds, but Professor Fischer himself did not agree with these views.

Sir Chandrasekhara Venkata Raman, Professor of Physics at the University of Calcutta, India, was awarded the Nobel Prize in physics. His greatest accomplishment is the discovery that light of a single color, or

wave length, shining on certain transparent substances, is partly changed to other colors. This phenomenon, named Raman after its discoverer, was announced in the Spring of 1928. Research laboratories in all parts of the world are now engaged in studying the new field of molecular structure which the discovery has made possible. One of the first scientists to verify it, outside Sir Chandrasekhara's own laboratory, was Dr. R. W. Wood of the Johns Hopkins University, who considerably improved the original apparatus of the Indian scientist and detected the effect in the Summer of 1928.

The Raman effect occurs when light of a single color, or wave length, shines on transparent substances, such as quartz, chloroform or water. Generally a mercury arc is used as the light source. The light that is scattered by the transparent material is mostly of the same color as that of the light illuminating it. The spectroscope, the instrument that analyzes light, however, shows that part of this light is changed to wave lengths a little longer or shorter than that of the source. That is, part of the light is either more reddish or more bluish. On the spectrum photographs the result is a heavy line, representing the main color, attended on either side by narrower and fainter lines. The fainter lines on one side are arranged the same way as those on the other except that they are reversed, as if reflected in a mirror, the centre heavy line being the mirror. Sir Chandra-

sekhara, in his first experiments, found only a single and very faint line on the high frequency, or blue, side of the main one; but with the improved apparatus Professor Wood found groups of nearly equal strength on each side.

The great importance of the discovery came from the fact that the differences between the frequency of the exciting color used to illuminate the substance and the frequency of the additional, or Raman, lines is precisely the same as the frequencies of the infra-red absorption bands of the same substance. These absorption bands, that is, the bands of color absorbed by the substance with infra-red light, or light vibrating too slowly to be seen, are very difficult to determine directly. The Raman effect was, therefore, a very convenient means of studying them, providing a new means of studying the properties of the molecules of these substances and of the structure of light.

Nineteen college girls are the latest heroines in medical science's attack on the common cold. Through their temporary suffering from the colds with which they were experimentally infected by Dr. Perrin H. Long and Dr. James A. Doull of the Johns Hopkins University Medical School, these volunteers aided in the discovery of the important fact that the infecting agent of the common cold is a filterable virus, so minute that it passes through the finest of filters and so difficult to grow that it cannot be cultured by ordinary methods. These are important steps toward the conquest of this disease, but much more research will be necessary before a prophylactic can be offered the suffering public. The results of the experiments, however, extend and confirm the views of earlier investigators who showed that the common cold is an infectious disease transmitted from one person to another by something present in the nasal secretions of people ill with colds. But the Johns Hopkins investigators have narrowed

down the search for the guilty organism to one that is the same size as the causative agents of smallpox and hoof and mouth disease.

The dairy farm has joined the industrial revolution and now cows are bathed, relieved of their milk and sent back to their barns by automatic machinery that resembles the constantly moving assembling line of a large automobile factory. A rotary combine milker, or "rotolactor," has just been put into commercial use for certified milk production at the Walker-Gordon Laboratories, near Washington, D. C.

Upon a sixty-foot circular platform are fifty milking stalls. Each cow in turn steps upon the moving platform into a stall, where she is held in place by an automatically closed stanchion. As the platform slowly rotates, the cow receives an automatic warm-water shower bath, while above her the milking machine and milk jar of her stall is being cleaned and sterilized by machinery. Next the cow receives the attention of the attendant, whose sole duty consists of drying the udders with individual sterilized towels. The cow is then inspected by an expert hand-milker, who merely starts the milking process, which is accomplished by milking machines. Just twelve and one-half minutes after the cow steps on the milking merry-go-round the milking is complete, the cow is automatically released to walk back to her barn for a balanced ration of special dehydrated alfalfa and other feeds. The jar containing her milk automatically empties into a weighing and recording device and flows through pipe lines to the bottling plant. The cow barns now become living and dining quarters exclusively, and milking is done under the most hygienic conditions in the tiled rotolactor room, which is fed with conditioned air. In an eight-hour day of continuous operation the rotolactor when put into full-time operation will milk some 1,800 cows three times daily.

A Month's World History

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

THE final session of the Preparatory Commission on Disarmament ended on Dec. 9, 1930. To the cynical and impatient, it may seem that the net result of its numerous sessions has been very small and that any longer to associate the word disarmament with it is ridiculous. The delegates seem to have been much more intent to maintain their own military and naval advantage, if possible to increase it, than to join in a sincere effort to decrease the burdens of armament and the likelihood of war. There is no doubt that every delegation was instructed to secure as much as possible of national advantage and to yield in nothing that would decrease the nation's armed power relatively to that of its neighbors. Again and again the decisions reached favored the weaker rather than the stronger proposal. Again and again the delegates dodged behind some subterfuge to avoid positive commitment, as when, for example, they declined to make a promise to reduce naval armament and were only willing to agree to reduce it "as far as possible"—which, of course, means absolutely nothing.

Such judgment as this is, nevertheless, superficial. It neglects to take into account certain realities which are fundamental to every interna-

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tional conference. In the absence of any supergovernment, and in the presence of the fetish of sovereignty, there is no method of compelling any one of the powers to accept an unwelcome decision. National sensibilities must not openly be affronted. No government can agree to a proposal against which the popular opinion, on which its power rests, is hostile. If it did, it would very soon cease to be the government, and its acts would be nullified by its successors. Even a dictatorship, such as that in Italy, rests, in the last analysis, on popular support, and it must pass whenever the opposition becomes large enough and coherent enough effectively to assert its power. The leaders are, consequently, very timid, and they frequently feel compelled to advocate measures which as individuals they do not approve. The function of the commission, as its name indicates, was to prepare measures for later discussion and action by the disarmament conference rather than to pass final judgment in regard to them. When that body meets it is not unreasonable to suppose that concessions may be made on points that have been stiffly opposed in the preliminary sessions. For the bargaining there the nations must retain as many counters as pos-

sible. All this makes progress very slow and hesitating, and the success of the conference will depend on the degree of development that can be given to public opinion during the interim.

The following is an outline of the "skeleton" convention which the commission adopted for consideration by the disarmament conference. It begins with a blanket article whereby the powers agree "to limit and so far as possible" reduce armaments by the following methods:

ARMED FORCES

Part I—Personnel

The total number of land, sea and air effectives is to be fixed. In the army alone, officers and professional soldiers, including non-commissioned officers, are to be limited separately from the men.

The maximum length of conscript service is to be set for each country.

The conference remains free to reconsider the proposals to limit trained reserves, or the number of conscripts annually called to the colors, or to abolish conscription, which the commission rejected.

Part II—Material

Land material is to be limited by fixing a maximum annual expenditure for it. A convention footnote reminds the conference that nine delegations favored limiting directly the quantity of land material or both the quantity and expenditure.

Naval material is to be limited both as regards expenditure and quantity. In regard to the latter, all methods adopted at London are recommended with these modifications.

NAVAL LIMITATIONS

Both global and category tonnage limits are to be fixed, but powers whose fleets do not exceed 100,000 tons—the convention is giving this figure as an indication—may have full liberty to transfer surface tonnage among the various categories, while the transfer rights of other powers may be in inverse ratio to their global tonnage. In either case the special situation of the power concerned and the specific category involved is to be considered in fixing the transfer percentage, and transfers into the submarine class are to be restricted.

The size of the vessels of each category is to be limited and provision made for special and exempt ships.

In air material, the number and total horsepower of the planes in commission,

and the immediate reserve are to be fixed, as well as the number, horsepower and volume of dirigibles.

The powers agree to refrain from seeking to convert civil planes into military machines, or to require civil enterprises to employ a military personnel or subsidize air lines for military ends.

BUDGETARY EXPENDITURE

Part III

The annual expenditure for land, sea and air forces is to be limited. The plan for this is to be established by a committee of experts who will also consider the setting and separate figure for each arm.

EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION

Part IV

Provision is made for detailed information on personnel, such as, where stationed at home and overseas, how many naval officers, how many men receive preparatory training, and other points untouched by limitation. Detailed information is to be required on where planes are stationed, the number and horsepower of civilian planes, the expenditure on tanks, artillery and small arms, and what merchantmen are prepared to carry 6-inch guns.

CHEMICAL ARMS

Part V

Poison gas and bacteria are to be banned in warfare.

MISCELLANEOUS

Part VI

A permanent disarmament commission is to be established with powers similar to but wider than those of the Mandates Commission. It is to meet annually and report annually to the League Council, to collect and disseminate information on the status of armaments generally and supervise enforcement.

There is a safeguard clause to the effect that a signatory whose security is menaced can suspend the convention temporarily so far as it is concerned, after explaining to the above commission, whereupon the other signatories will agree to "advise"—in other words, to consult—about the situation.

Complaints of violation are to be referred to the above commission, which will investigate and report to the signatories and League Council, whereupon the signatories will again "advise."

A continuity is assured by a provision for the regular re-examination of the armament situation by the conference every so many years and the possibility of any power enforcing the convocation of extraordinary conferences. The denuncia-

tion of a treaty is only possible after a certain number of years, and during the session of one of the conferences.

There are reservations attached by one or more powers to nearly all the important articles of the treaty. As a whole, it represents the views of only the majority of the commission.

To resume the record of events during the month before the commission concluded its labors, we find it voted on Nov. 10 that each nation should fix its own limit for conscript service in the army, navy and air force and that the conference should establish a maximum period of training. The latter vote may very readily increase rather than curtail the average length of conscript service, as the maximum will tend to be fixed at the longest period now in force. Poland now requires two years of service; Italy, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have eighteen months, while France and Greece are content with twelve. The establishment of a higher maximum will make it difficult for the countries having a lower to resist the temptation to increase their own period of training.

The commission then turned to the limitation of war material. Germany and the United States have always favored the direct method, the former because its stocks are already limited by the terms of the Versailles Treaty, and the latter because, on account of higher costs in this country, it is only by this method that we can have parity. Mr. Gibson argued that, under the Constitution, budgetary limitation is impossible. This position is, however, by no means universally held by constitutional lawyers. The other powers which favor the direct method are Canada, Holland, Italy, the Soviet Union, Sweden, Turkey and Venezuela. France leads a majority of the powers in favoring an indirect limitation by the control of budgetary expenditures.

The debates, which continued from Nov. 11 to Nov. 15, were not very illuminating, unless it may be as a study of methods of escape from lim-

itation. Attention was called to the fact that budgetary limitation would favor those powers which already have large stocks of munitions; that it is not at all difficult to conceal such stocks or to disguise budgetary expenditure. The United States argued, as it did at the previous session, that publicity as to stocks and expenditures is the best method of control, but Mr. Gibson stated that we would not object to the application of the indirect method in Europe so long as the United States was allowed to employ the direct method. Maxim Litvinov of Russia proposed that both methods be applied simultaneously, but his motion was lost by a vote of 12 to 5. Great Britain and Japan gave notice that if a policy of unlimited expenditure were agreed upon they would reserve for themselves the right to spend as much as they like on their navies. Germany hinted that if the direct method were not adopted she would seek for a revision of her own limitations under the Versailles Treaty. The German argument for "symmetry of obligations" was hotly denied by France. The same issue was the occasion for a vigorous debate on Nov. 27 on a French amendment to the British proposal that the convention shall in no way diminish "obligations of previous treaties." The French sought to strengthen this idea by declaring that acceptance of the limitations in the new convention depended as an "essential condition" on the maintenance of the obligations under previous treaties. The proposal was finally carried, the United States voting for it, and Germany, Italy, Bulgaria, Russia and Turkey abstaining.

As finally adopted, the essential part of the article reads: "Each of the high contracting parties agrees to limit its annual expenditure for the maintenance, purchase and manufacture of land war materials to the figures and under the conditions" which the disarmament conference will later establish. The vote was 15 to 1, with the United States, Canada,

Germany, Italy, Holland, China and Turkey not voting.

The naval article, which was brought under discussion on Nov. 17, revealed quite as complete a disagreement. Italy, which had hitherto stood with France in favoring global limitation, now stands for the category system with the right to shift tonnage from one to another. Litvinov tried unsuccessfully to secure a vote on his proposal to reduce by a definite percentage, as well as to limit, the size of navies, and also to include special vessels within the scope of limitation instead of exempting them. He cited official American figures to show that in 1936 the navies of the United States, Great Britain and Japan would be larger than at the time of the London agreement. The word "reduce" seemed to be too strong a medicine for most of the delegates, and only when it is properly diluted can they be induced to swallow it. This they did by making the final text of the article read: "The high contracting parties agree to limit, and as far as possible to reduce, their naval armament," which is innocuous, to say the least.

On the following day it was voted to limit warships both globally and by categories. Navies having a total tonnage above 100,000 are to be limited by categories, with the right to transfer tonnage of surface vessels from one to another in the inverse ratio of global tonnage. Navies with less than 100,000 tons have complete freedom of transfer. The battleship of 35,000 tons, which at the London conference the United States succeeded in retaining, despite the opinion of the other powers, again came under discussion, Russia attempting to secure a reduction to the size of 10,000 tons imposed on Germany. All the London figures were, however, finally allowed to stand. Lord Cecil again warned the delegates that if naval budgets are not limited, the former competition in tonnage will simply be transferred to guns, armor and

speed, to naval bases and merchantmen. The proposal for budgetary limitation was finally adopted by a vote of 11 to 3, the United States, Japan and France voting in the negative. The same principle was involved in the vote taken on Nov. 21 to limit and to reduce "as far as possible" all expenditures on land, on water and in the air. Nineteen powers favored it and two, the United States and Japan, voted in the negative.

Despite the fact that the covenant expressly provides that "the members of the League undertake to interchange full and frank information as to the scale of their armaments, their military, naval and air programs, and the condition of such of their industries as are adaptable to warlike purposes," there was a good deal of opposition to the literal interpretation of this provision and an attempt by France and her followers to introduce a nullifying "as is possible" phrase. They failed, however, and after a long debate it was voted that publicity should be applied to personnel, aircraft, civil and naval, and to merchant vessels which are constructed so as to mount 6-inch guns. Publicity as to material is to be limited to expenditure and does not cover volume.

One of the most significant actions of the commission was taken on the afternoon of Nov. 26 when it unanimously approved the proposal for an international commission to collect, collate and disseminate information on armaments "with a view to insuring observance of the convention and of safeguarding peace." This commission is to hear complaints by any signatory of a violation of the treaty, and to report its findings. The importance of this action lies not only in its text but much more in the fact that the United States Government, which has hitherto taken the position that any form of international control is inadmissible, now accepts it wholeheartedly, and to the further fact that we have agreed to act with a body which is actually an organ of the

League. The composition and specific powers of this Permanent Disarmament Commission will be determined by the conference. It will meet annually and in extraordinary session whenever its president or any power requests it.

Disputes as to the interpretation of the convention are to be settled by the World Court, the American text of the motion reading: "The high contracting parties agree that all disputes concerning the interpretation or application of the present convention shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice, or to any judicial or arbitral procedure which may at the time be formed between them." A safeguarding clause, applicable to the whole convention other than those articles "designed to apply in the event of war," provides that in an emergency which constitutes "a menace to its national security," any power "may modify temporarily its agreements under the convention." In such a case, the modification must be reported to all of the signatories and to the Secretary General of the

League, whereupon the Permanent Commission "shall promptly advise as to the situation thus presented." When the emergency has passed, the power must reduce its armament to the figures of the convention.

Estimates of the value of the commission's work varied from the pessimism of Lunacharski of Russia to the almost complete satisfaction of Massigli of France. Lord Cecil and Mr. Gibson took a middle ground. The latter, frankly confessing his disappointment that the convention "does not hold out the promise of bringing about that immediate reduction in armaments we would like to see," went on to say: "We can at least foresee a stabilization of armaments, the setting up of a machinery to receive and to disseminate information on armaments, to educate public opinion and to prepare systematically for the work of future conferences as successive milestones in the continuing process of disarmament."

While the date for the summoning of the conference was not definitely set, it was forecast for early in 1932.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

THE most important question claiming the attention of the world during the last month

is that of disarmament, which is dealt with in the preceding article on international events. What is often aptly called "economic disarmament" has also been under discussion. The Second Conference for Concerted Economic Action met at Geneva on Nov. 17. All the countries of Europe except Albania and Russia were represented and seven non-European countries sent observers. Prentiss Gilbert, the new United States Consul at Geneva, attended on behalf of the United States.

Last March eighteen countries

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signed a "commercial convention" agreeing not to raise tariffs until next April and in the meantime to maintain as far as possible the status quo of their bilateral economic treaties. As only nine governments had ratified the convention when the second conference opened, it seemed wise to extend the time limit for ratification up to January and to work out plans for extending the effective limit of the convention itself beyond next April. From the discussion it appeared that nearly all of the countries, except Portugal, expect to ratify.

The conference then proceeded to study means for tariff reduction, both by multilateral treaties as proposed

by Great Britain and bilateral treaties as proposed by Holland. These two proposals were studied in subcommittee. From the first it was evident that the British plan lacked support, and on Nov. 25 it was definitely rejected by the conference and a resolution passed that negotiations should aim at the Dutch plan of bilateral agreements, that is, separate arrangements between two countries only. An amendment proposed by Italy would have made it impossible for Great Britain to proceed with her scheme of multilateral accords even with the few States willing to negotiate in this way, but the Italian proposal was changed at the request of Sir Sydney Chapman.

Considerable improvement was noted in the status of the Convention on the Abolition of Import and Export Prohibitions and Restrictions. This has been put in force by only seven States, but no new prohibitions have so far been created. The British Government announced that it had decided to allow the dyestuffs act—its last import prohibition, which expires on Jan. 15—to lapse. This, however, is not quite an accomplished fact, as Parliament has still to act upon it.

The conference, sitting as an agricultural subcommittee, heard the case of the agrarian countries of Eastern Europe for preferential treatment of their farm products by the industrial States. It seemed fairly evident from the discussion that the industrial countries did not take kindly to this idea, although neither approval nor disapproval was formally given.

The text of the final act was approved on Nov. 27 and signed at the closing session of the conference on Nov. 28 by the twenty-six nations represented, with the exception of Lithuania and the Irish Free State, which were to sign later. The six resolutions embodied in this act may be summarized as follows:

1. Extension to Jan. 25, 1931, of the time for ratifying the commercial convention for a tariff truce. This

will be the principal subject on the agenda of the conference meeting in February.

2. Rejection of the British proposal for multilateral trade accords and endorsement of the bilateral system.
3. Recording, without expressing approval or disapproval, the claims of agrarian countries for preferential treatment.
4. Request that all delegations try to obtain the views of their respective governments on the abolition of import and export prohibitions.
5. Expression of hope for constructive results from the private negotiations now in progress between various countries on the convention for treatment of foreigners.
6. Suggestion that prompt action be taken where possible on non-tariff problems, such as dumping, indirect protection and unfair competition, which were stressed especially by France throughout the discussions.

An annex to the final act contained an outline of the work of the Agrarian subcommittee, placed strict limitations on preferential tariff proposals and discussed other ways for relieving the difficult situation in the agricultural countries. At the ceremony of signature eight agricultural States placed on record a statement of their feeling that the Commercial Convention could not attain its object unless some measures were decided on to relieve the agrarian difficulties.

Chairman Colijn, summing up the results of the conference, which "had fallen short of expectations," found one hopeful result—that the nations had promised to negotiate for tariff reductions. The fact that the League's efforts to bring about international economic cooperation are now practically continuous is significant of their vital importance. Many students of the situation feel that if this sustained effort on the part of the League should fail, there would be every possibility of a merciless tariff war.

THE MANDATES COMMISSION

The Mandates Commission, which met at Geneva on Nov. 4, studied first the annual report of the British Government on the Cameroons and Togo-

land, asking the mandatory's representatives searching questions concerning justice, police, health, education and other matters. The New Zealand Government next reported on Western Samoa, followed by Japan on the Pacific Islands, Great Britain on Iraq, France on the part of Cameroons under its jurisdiction, and Belgium on Uganda-Urundi. One of the most significant reports described in a cinema film the French campaign against sleeping sickness in the Cameroons.

Beneath the surface the rumblings of two very important disturbances were audible. The British Government is sponsoring political independence for Iraq under a treaty which would permanently give Great Britain a favored position in that area. To the Mandates Commission this appears to be a method by which the international supervision of the League over a mandated area is to be exchanged for ostensible independence under which a single power would secure exclusive rights in the territory. The other cause for apprehension is the British plan to develop closer administrative union between the mandated area of Tanganyika and the adjacent British colonies of Uganda and Kenya. As the British Government has not yet formally endorsed this step, the Mandates Commission decided not to define its position until the mandatory power has communicated its decision. In the commission, however, there is a strong feeling that the development should not be sanctioned, because the tendency would be to merge the special administrative character of a mandated area with the old style colonial administration and thereby establish a dangerous precedent destructive of much of value that has been created by the mandates system.

Under the supervision of the League Commission on Communications and Transit, a conference of twenty European countries and seven interested organizations met on Nov.

17 to study the unification of river law. Committees were set up to study three draft conventions for submission to the powers for ratification. The first of these conventions has to do with determining the nationality of inland navigation vessels, the second with certain phases of river law, the third with rules concerning collisions.

The League Secretariat is carrying out the requests of the last Assembly in obtaining the opinions of the nations on prison reform, slavery, ratification of League treaties and revision of the covenant to bring it in line with the Kellogg pact. Each country has received a copy of the standard minimum rules drawn up by the International Prison Commission, and has been asked to furnish a report on the rules with reference to prison administration in that country. The nations are also being consulted on how to obtain quicker and more complete results from conferences and in the ratification of conventions. Finally, the governments have been requested to forward observations before next June as to how the covenant should be amended so as to incorporate the general prohibition of resort to war in the covenant.

Another problem that is being studied at the request of the Council under the Financial Committee is that of the falsification of documents of value, such as stock certificates and checks. A questionnaire has been sent to the governments which they are requested to return by next March, with a view to further study by the committee in May.

THE FREE ZONES OF SAVOY

Frank B. Kellogg, elected in September a judge of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague, on taking his seat, was immediately plunged into the difficult case of the Free Zones of Savoy. In 1815 a treaty was signed between France and

Switzerland placing the customs border between the two countries some little distance within the French political boundary. The "Free Zones" were thus a political part of France but an economic part of Switzerland. France contends that Article 435 of the Treaty of Versailles abrogates this arrangement, but the Permanent Court in August, 1929, ruled against this interpretation and asked the two countries to adjust the matter between themselves. This they have been unable to do. It has thus come before the court again and has been argued at great length. On Dec. 6 the court gave its second decision, which is essentially a plea to the countries to settle the question between themselves before July 31, 1931. At that time the court will give a judgment which will either include an agreement for a reasonable program reached by the two governments or will confine itself to the points of law involved. Switzerland's rights to the Free Zones are recognized, but the court seems to hint strongly that she might do well to renounce part of these rights in return for other concessions. Secretary Kellogg agrees with the decision and emphasizes the principle that the court can recognize only the legal aspects of the case and must not be led into considerations of political expediency.

The International Labor Organization is extending its interest in the welfare of children. The ages at which children shall enter industry in various trades have already been set. This problem is to be studied further at the next conference in May, 1931, and a "gray report" just issued will form the basis of the first item on the coming agenda. A further study of the situation of children in industry was included in the Nov. 24 issue of *Industrial and Labor Information* published by the I. L. O.

During the month Germany signed the Convention of Financial Assis-

tance, bringing the total number of signatories to twenty-nine. Yugoslavia ratified the Optional Clause of the World Court Statute. Thirty-four States are now bound by this clause providing for compulsory jurisdiction of the court in four types of legal disputes. Japan and Czechoslovakia bring the ratifications of the World Court protocol for revision of the statute to thirty-three and of the protocol for adherence of the United States to thirty-two. Certain bilateral treaties for the pacific settlement of all disputes were deposited with the League. Greece is now bound by five of these treaties, Italy by twelve, Rumania by eight, Yugoslavia by eight and Czechoslovakia by fifteen. Switzerland is the thirty-third nation to ratify the 1926 Slavery Convention.

The various I. L. O. conventions looking toward betterment of labor conditions have received a total of 414 ratifications, including those of Bulgaria on sickness insurance. Rumania also has just ratified four important I. L. O. conventions. Among these is the convention adopted in 1920 concerning unemployment indemnity for sailors resulting from the loss of their ship. This convention has now been ratified by seventeen States. The convention, also adopted in 1920, concerning employment facilities for seamen has now been ratified by eighteen States. The convention adopted in 1921 which prohibits the employment of children below the age of fourteen in agricultural undertakings during school time has been ratified by thirteen States. The convention which grants to agricultural workers the same rights of association and combination as are enjoyed by industrial workers has been ratified by twenty-two States.

The minorities kettle boiled over again during the month, heated up this time by the quick fire of elections in Upper Silesia. On Nov. 29 the German Government sent a strong protest to the League Council, declaring

that terrorism and fraud had been practiced and that Article 67 of the Geneva Convention had been violated. (For a fuller discussion see page 619.)

LEAGUE OFFICIALS ON TOUR

Dr. Louis Rajchman, director of the health section, left Geneva on Dec. 5 for China to consult with the Nanking Government on the progress of the public health development program instituted by the government a year ago in cooperation with the League. Mr. K. Zilliacus, a member of the information section, is accompanying Dr. Rajchman. Sir Arthur Salter, director of the economic and financial section, who resigned his post to take

effect on Dec. 31, extended his services to the League long enough to include a trip to India, at the invitation of the Indian Government, to consult on economic matters. Sir Eric Drummond, Secretary General of the League, left early in December on a visit to Latin America, accompanied by M. Comert, director of the information section of the Secretariat, and Señor Buero, director of the legal section. Sir Eric stated that the special purpose of his trip was "to strengthen the ties between the League and the Latin-American countries members of the League," adding that it might be useful also in securing further ratifications of League conventions.

THE UNITED STATES

THE final session of the Seventy-first Congress

By D. E. WOLF

convened on Dec. 1 to dispose of a large and complicated program of business in the scanty three months before it expires on March 4. Enthusiasm over this annual event was hard to find outside the halls of Congress and even there it was well within bounds, for lame-duck sessions are never the happiest or most effective.

For one thing, the public does not look to Congress for a solution of the business depression. Americans, furthermore, have a natural antipathy for laws. Thus, when the November election results forecast a tie in both houses of the next Congress, humorists joyfully exclaimed that now no more laws could be passed. And a recent recommendation by L. F. Loree, president of the Delaware & Hudson Railway, that Congress could best relieve the business depression by repealing half the laws on the statute books caused a gathering of sober economists to applaud wildly.

Perhaps no one has less reason to welcome the return of Congress than President Hoover. For three months

he is condemned to watch his most cherished policies being re-

pudiated and his more urgent recommendations amended beyond recognition. He must by turns conciliate, convert and threaten a hostile Senate. And he must convince the country that on their many points of difference he is right and Congress wrong.

Nevertheless, the government departments must function and they cannot do so unless Congress appropriates the necessary \$4,000,000,000. Although this may seem a vastly difficult undertaking it is, in reality, the easiest part of the Congressional program. For supply bills worked out in intricate detail by department experts and approved by the budget director are usually treated as routine and non-controversial matters. Most of the work now before Congress is, however, of a controversial nature, though the issues do not change much from year to year, a phenomenon which may help to explain the apathy of the public. Prohibition and Muscle Shoals, for example, are problems which have agitated Congress continuously since the war, and for which

there is, at this writing, no immediate solution in sight. Although the farm problem appeared to be settled in 1929, after years of controversy, the debenture and equalization fee attached themselves like barnacles to the tariff in 1930, and will, it was reported, again raise their heads in 1931. Although at the moment we are enjoying a breathing spell between tariffs, it is, notwithstanding the flexible provision, only a breathing spell. The immigration question was by no means settled with the adoption of the national origins plan. The World Court is actually before the Senate, after five years of delay. The annual debate on Philippine independence is again scheduled to take place.

Congress had one novel problem to solve at this session—the question of its own reapportionment. After blandly ignoring the Constitution for ten years, Congress passed a law in June, 1929, providing for a redistribution of its members to conform to the census of 1930, the results of which were announced by President Hoover on Nov. 18. These will go into effect in the Seventy-third Congress unless action is taken before March 4. Under the new census, based on a population of 122,093,455, eleven States will gain seats as follows: California, 9; Michigan, 4; Texas, 3; New York, New Jersey and Ohio, each 2; Connecticut, Florida, North Carolina, Oklahoma and Washington, each 1. The losses, affecting twenty-one States, are: Missouri, 3; Georgia, Iowa, Kentucky and Pennsylvania, each 2, and the following one apiece: Alabama, Indiana, Kansas, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Nebraska, North Dakota, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Vermont, Virginia and Wisconsin. Naturally the States which lose representation are anxious to avert these results and their efforts are heartily supported by prohibitionist organizations which interpret the shift as a gain for the cities where wet sentiment predominates and which have large Negro and alien

populations. In the other camp are, of course, the States which gain representation, and these are joined by the wets, the strict constitutionalists and those who believe that our system favors the rural population at the expense of the urban.

Unemployment, although it seemed novel a year ago, is a problem which has grown to vast proportions, and has evidently come to stay. Congress first turned its attention to this question, acting on the chief recommendation of the President's message, the appropriation of from \$100,000,000 to \$150,000,000 for the acceleration of public works. (This recommendation and Mr. Hoover's analysis of the business depression, which occupied most of the message, are more fully discussed in an article on Page 562 of this magazine.)

The statement of seven prominent Democrats, just after the November election, that their party would not obstruct legislation designed to alleviate the depression raised the hope, but only momentarily, that Mr. Hoover's plan would be carried out without a battle. But other prominent Democrats and insurgents, such as Senators Glass, Brookhart, Borah and Norris, immediately rose to defend their independence of action. No one was surprised, therefore, to find that Congress disagreed with the President both on the amount that should be appropriated for unemployment relief and on the method of spending it. Mr. Hoover had estimated an additional \$150,000,000 as the maximum that could safely be spared in the face of a large budget deficit, without resorting to an actual increase in taxes, which he strongly opposed. In a supplementary message on Dec. 4 the President asked that the money be entrusted to a Cabinet committee, which in turn would turn it over to the departments which had devised plans for putting it to the soundest economic uses.

The House quickly passed the requested bill on Dec. 9, reducing the

appropriation, however, to \$110,000,000. The bill disregarded Mr. Hoover's idea of a Cabinet committee and specified that the money be distributed as follows: To the Department of Agriculture, \$80,000,000 for Federal aid to State highways and \$3,000,000 for roads in the national forests; \$25,500,000 to the War Department for flood control, rivers and harbors, and \$1,500,000 to the Interior Department for the national parks. It was expected that the remaining \$40,000,000 would be included in supply bills.

The Senate, however, had more elaborate plans, believing that the emergency warranted much larger outlays. Thus on Dec. 9 the Senate passed a bill appropriating double the administration's \$30,000,000 estimate for loans to farmers suffering from last Summer's drought. Plans for unemployment relief on a gigantic scale began to pour in, until Mr. Hoover became alarmed and protested in a message that their passage would constitute "raids upon the public treasury." Some of the projects, he said, though sincere, were ill considered, while others were inspired by a desire to seem more generous than the administration—in other words, by politics. This reproof was, of course, bitterly resented by the Senators, who seized the opportunity to criticize the President's general conduct of affairs. In Mr. Hoover's defense, Senator Reed remarked that "nothing in this statement, or in anything else I have seen quoted from the President, begins to approach in severity or in intemperance the attacks some of us have made upon him." He reminded the Senate of the President's responsibility to keep a balanced budget.

After Mr. Hoover had summoned leading Republican Senators to the White House for emergency conferences, the administration forces rallied and the Senate passed a \$118,000,000 appropriation bill on Dec. 11. This measure, however, carried an amendment introduced by Senator

Robinson which divested the President of the power to allocate the money, but there were indications that this amendment would be dropped in conference.

THE BUDGET

Stressing the need for drastic economy and predicting a deficit of at least \$180,000,000 next July, President Hoover presented a budget of \$4,667,845,468 to carry on the government business in the year ending July 1, 1932. This is \$221,000,000 more than last year and the largest peace-time budget in our history. The increase is directly traceable to two large items not included in the 1931 total, namely, \$100,000,000 for the Farm Board's revolving loan fund and \$109,000,000 added to the consolidated veterans' administration by the bills passed at the last session of Congress. The Shipping Board also asks \$33,000,000 more for its construction loan fund, which has hitherto been covered by the sale of ships or property. The largest part of this vast sum demanded of the taxpayers goes to the following purposes:

1932 Estimates.

Veterans' administration....	\$946,289,758
National defense (army and navy)	\$689,084,000
Principal and interest on public debt	\$1,049,509,905
Department of Agriculture..	\$225,537,476
Postoffice deficit.....	\$114,041,000
Federal Farm Board.....	\$101,900,000

These six items alone make up more than three-fourths of the amount which, it is estimated, the treasury must pay out in 1932. In the face of these demands a continuation of the 1 per cent reduction of income taxes decreed by Congress a year ago was considered out of the question. But Mr. Hoover was equally deaf to any talk of a tax increase.

The budget message presented a picture of the government's financial situation in the year ending July, 1931, which forecast a deficit of about \$180,000,000. Whereas the government had expected in December, 1929, that the 1 per cent income tax would decrease

their estimates of revenue by about \$75,000,000 and still leave a marginal surplus of about \$45,000,000, it now appears that the decreased revenues for the current year will be about \$430,000,000 below the estimates. Add to this the unexpected appropriation of \$225,000,000 for public works and veterans' administration and we would have a deficit well over \$600,000,000. But Mr. Hoover explained that the use of \$185,000,000 received as interest on our foreign debts, plus the reduction of the Farm Board's demands by \$100,000,000, plus strict economizing by all government departments, have cut the deficit down to \$180,000,000. He is confident, furthermore, that this deficiency will be entirely wiped out in 1932 by larger revenues resulting from an improvement in business.

The two supply bills submitted to the House during the first week in December both contained estimates somewhat lower than the budget. The first demanded \$1,102,280,353 for the Postoffice and Treasury Departments: \$255,436,296 for the latter and \$846,844,057 for the former. Of the treasury's allotment \$60,000,000 was destined for public buildings, for which about \$72,000,000 had already been appropriated. The Postoffice expected to make up about \$735,000,000 of its budget in revenues. The Interior Department bill asked for \$68,552,006, of which the largest single item was \$24,000,000 for Indian Affairs.

Two other important money bills reached the House on Dec. 8. These were the naval treaty construction bill and a measure carrying out the President's request for \$150,000,000 of the Farm Board's revolving loan fund, as specified in the budget. The navy bill contemplated building at a final cost of \$134,635,000 two cruisers, one 10,000-ton, one 7,500-ton, both carrying 6-inch guns; eleven destroyers and one destroyer leader; four submarines, one aircraft carrier and \$5,000,000 worth of new airplanes. Secretary Adams stated that \$15,000,-

000 would suffice to initiate the program, which was not expected to be completed until April, 1932. With the added \$150,000,000, the Farm Board will have received \$400,000,000 of the \$500,000,000 originally assigned to it by the McNary-Haugen bill of June, 1929. The first \$150,000,000 was voted three days after this bill was passed. Another \$100,000,000 was added in March, 1930. In his letter transmitting this latest request, President Hoover said that another \$150,000,000 was required "in order that important operations of the board now in prospect may be carried through promptly." This was regarded as another indication that the Farm Board intends to adhere to its policy of buying wheat with Federal funds to bolster up the market. This policy has been criticized as both unwise and illegal, and at one time it was reported that members of the board admitted it to have been a mistake and renounced it. Evidently this was not the case, for on Nov. 15, after several days of wild trading in the Chicago pit, Chairman Legge announced that the government-financed Stabilization Corporation had bought 10,000,000 bushels for December delivery.

The international factors which sent the price of wheat down and precipitated this action are analyzed in the article on "World Finance" on page XXXI of this magazine. Chairman Legge explained on Nov. 16 that it was demoralization in world markets which prompted his move, designed to "stop panicky selling and to prevent further unwarranted declines in domestic prices." He admitted that the government corporation had accumulated more than 70,000,000 bushels in this way, and added that there was no limit to the quantity which might be bought in the future. One result of this policy has been to put the United States wheat market on a domestic basis, with the Chicago price above the world price. Another is that the government is committed to continue bolstering the market until the world

price recovers of its own accord, or face a staggering loss on the wheat it now holds. The Farm Board's course of action was approved in principle by spokesmen for leading farmers' organizations and by the Senate Agricultural Committee.

THE WORLD COURT

Although the Republican and Democratic parties, four Presidents and three Secretaries of State have all favored it, our adherence to the World Court is still a controversial matter. After five years the question was again put before the Senate when President Hoover submitted the three protocols on Dec. 10 with a message urging their ratification. In January, 1926, the Senate, by a vote of 76 to 17, approved our joining the World Court with five reservations, four of which were immediately agreed to by the other members. A Geneva conference met in September, 1926, to consider the fifth, but could reach no satisfactory decision. In February, 1926, Secretary of State Kellogg reopened the discussion, acting on Senator Gillett's resolution and President Coolidge's subsequent suggestion. A League committee on revision of the World Court statute was just then meeting, and the League Council therefore turned the problem over to it. Mr. Elihu Root happened to be a member of that committee, and he, in collaboration with Sir Cecil Hirst, devised an interpretation of the disputed fifth reservation, which has come to be known as the Root formula. This was approved by the League Council in June and by the League Assembly in September, 1929, and the three protocols were signed by the United States *Chargé d'Affaires* at Berne the following December. All that is now necessary is a two-thirds vote of the Senate. It was believed that the protocols would survive the avalanche of debate which threatened them in spite of the fact that four Republican Senators—Borah, Johnson, Moses and Watson, the first two noted orators—declared

themselves opposed to our joining the World Court.

The disputed Root formula concerns the power of the United States to prevent the court from giving an advisory opinion on questions in which we have or claim an interest. The Root formula prescribes a long and intricate procedure designed to protect us in such a contingency. By it we are to be notified well in advance when any such request for an advisory opinion is contemplated, so that our government is given ample time to protest, consult and discuss its objections. The formula also specifies the right of any nation to secede from the court without imputation of ill-will.

A survey conducted by the American Foundation, founded by the late Edward W. Bok, disclosed that 1,357, or 66.65 per cent, of the daily newspapers in the United States advocate adherence to the World Court on their editorial pages. Only 265, or 13.01 per cent, are opposed, but these control 25.69 per cent of the total circulation. Although the World Court issue has now been put finally and squarely before the Senate (Mr. Hoover withheld it last year so as not to endanger the ratification of the London Naval Treaty), this is no guarantee that it will be acted upon at this session of Congress.

Two other major aspects of our foreign policy were brought into prominence during the past month by statesmen whose words demand respectful attention. In a speech before the Lotos Club of New York on Dec. 3, Owen D. Young pleaded for an understanding of and liberal attitude toward the question of war debts. When times are hard, said Mr. Young, private debtors naturally ask for readjustment of their debts, although they must, of course, convince their creditors of their incapacity to pay. "And as between great nations," he continued, "I should hope for a breadth of view and a sympathy of understanding in dealing with problems of this kind, greater than an individual has

any right to expect from his own creditor." Mr. Young deplored the fact that throughout the world today politics and economics are increasingly in conflict. While economics are necessarily becoming more international in scope, politics are becoming more national. "It has even been suggested," he said, "that if a holiday of armaments is good, a holiday of Parliaments would be better. Here again it is the uncertainty which political action threatens which paralyzes economic efforts in this world recovery." In a democracy both political and economic forces must be guided always by a vision of the unattainable, and so, Mr. Young concluded, "the problem of reconciling the two is the most immediate and difficult problem in the world."

A brilliant and merciless attack was leveled at the State Department's policies toward Soviet Russia and Latin America by John Bassett Moore, former World Court judge, in a speech on Dec. 5 before the New York Bar Association. Mr. Moore called "preposterous and mischievous" the supposition that "the recognition of a government implies approval of its constitution, its economic system, its attitude toward religion and its general course of conduct." One of the very "primers of the kindergartens of international law," said Mr. Moore, is that recognition can be implied as well as expressed, and on this basis our permitting the Soviet Government to sign the Kellogg pact constituted an act of recognition. (This claim was denied in 1928 by Secretary Kellogg, who said that "the adhering to a multilateral treaty that has been agreed to by other people is never a recognition of the country.") Mr. Moore characterized some of the acts of the State Department as contrary to international law, others as triumphs of stupidity. Among the former he cited the embargo on munitions to the Brazilian revolutionaries; among the latter our intervention, via France, in the Soviet-Chinese railway dispute. Recognition of Soviet Russia would not imply that

we relinquish our claims, said Mr. Moore. In fact, he continued, we are approaching "the limit of human incoherence" when, having renounced war as a means of settling disputes, we also refuse to settle them peacefully by diplomacy, the only other alternative. When asked to comment on Mr. Moore's views, Secretary Stimson simply replied that American policy toward Soviet recognition remained unchanged.

ANNUAL REPORTS

The members of the Cabinet submitted the annual reports of their departments to Congress during the first week in December. Secretary Mellon presented the treasury receipts and expenditures for the fiscal year 1930 and estimates for 1931 and 1932. Although he did not comment on the business outlook, his estimates of larger revenues for the next two years were in themselves predictions of a revival. Whereas revenue for the year ending June, 1931, was estimated at \$3,834,865,000, the report foresaw an increase to \$4,085,119,000 in 1932. Although the elimination of the 1 per cent income tax reduction would account for part of this, a rise in customs receipts from \$502,000,000 in 1931 to \$612,000,000 in 1932 was also forecast, indicating an improved import trade.

Convictions for prohibition offenses rose during the last fiscal year, according to the report of the Department of Justice. Out of a total of 52,437 cases terminated, there resulted 27,709 sentences of imprisonment, 5,107 more than in 1929. Two of the major problems which, the report shows, remain unsolved are the smuggling of liquor and the serious congestion of prohibition cases in the Federal courts.

A depressing story of shrinking farm incomes was told by Secretary Hydes's report on the condition of agriculture. The aggregate income for 1930 was estimated at \$9,950,000,000,

or 16 per cent below that of 1929. The drought and the industrial slump contributed to this decline, said Secretary Hyde. The report of the Farm Board was an elaboration of the opinions of Chairman Legge, outlined above, to the effect that the operations of the board in supporting the price of wheat had been costly but justified. Only reduction of acreage, it stated, could ultimately solve the farm problem.

Secretary Adams's report requested the training of more officers to command the treaty navy, and more pay both for officers and enlisted men. Since 1908, he revealed, navy pay has risen only 11 per cent, while the cost of living has more than doubled.

General Charles P. Summerall, recently retired as Chief of Staff of the army, in his final report on Nov. 25 declared that the strength of the army was entirely inadequate as "an agency for facilitating a general mobilization." General Summerall admitted, however, that this could be justified on the grounds of economy and an improved international situation. On the other hand, Secretary Hurley, in his annual report, asserted that the army has reached new heights of efficiency.

Unemployment relief progressed at a rapid pace under the direction of Colonel Woods during the past month. Voluntary contributions mounted into the millions in the big cities. Undoubtedly the largest private donation was the \$1,000,000 contribution of the John D. Rockefellers, father and son, to the New York fund.

The third White House Conference on Child Health and Protection was opened on Nov. 19 with a speech by President Hoover and closed on Nov. 22 with the adoption of a nineteen-point bill of rights for the American child. It was a gathering of medical men, sociologists and social workers in an effort to coordinate all the conflicting and overlapping agencies for

child welfare and formulate a program for the future. Secretary Wilbur presided.

In his speech President Hoover characterized the problem as three-fold: Protection of the normal child, as well as aid to the physically defective and delinquent. Of the 45,000,000 children in the nation, he estimated that 35,000,000 were reasonably normal, 1,500,000 specially gifted and 10,000,000 deficient in some respect. In the latter category more than 80 per cent are not receiving proper treatment, he declared. The conference was harmonious until a controversy arose over the attempt to transfer the health activities of the Children's Bureau, presided over by Grace Abbott, to the Public Health Service. The conference finally referred this question to a committee.

President Hoover on Nov. 28 appointed William N. Doak to succeed Senator James J. Davis as Secretary of Labor. Mr. Doak, a Virginian, has been identified with the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, an organization not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, and this fact caused William Green, President of the Federation, to protest his appointment. In reply, Mr. Hoover stated that Mr. Green's objection in fact imposed upon him "the duty to maintain the principle of open and equal opportunity and freedom in appointments to public office." The Senate confirmed Mr. Doak without opposition on Dec. 8.

Secretary Doak's first action was to put into effect a policy which has long been advocated as the solution of the crime problem—the deportation of undesirable aliens. On Dec. 15 immigration authorities arrested Tony Volpe, one of Chicago's most noted "public enemies." A corps of officials was dispatched on a tour of the underworld to seek grounds for deporting other notorious racketeers.

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

J REUBEN CLARK JR. presented his credentials as Ambassador to Mexico to President Ortiz Ru-

bio in a private ceremony at the National Palace on Nov. 28. In the course of his formal speech Mr. Clark said: "There are no questions arising between nations which may not be adjusted peaceably * * * if such questions are discussed in kindly candor with mutual appreciation of and accommodation to the viewpoint of each by the other and with patience and a desire to work out a fair and equitable settlement. It is in that spirit that I take up the performance of my official duties." President Ortiz Rubio replied that Mr. Clark would find in Mexico "every assistance in perfecting the excellent understanding between our two republics. All we want is, in our relations with other countries, to develop sincere harmony, justice and equity."

The budget of the Mexican Government for 1931, as drafted by Finance Minister Montes de Oca, was submitted to the Mexican Congress for its approval early in November. The government income for the ensuing year is estimated at approximately \$154,750,000, or an increase of \$9,750,000 over the income of 1930. Expenditures for 1931 are estimated at \$149,250,000, an increase of \$2,400,000 over those for 1930. The proposed budget for 1931 includes \$17,000,000 as service on the foreign debt, in accordance with the recent debt refunding agreement entered into between the Mexican Government and the International Committee of Bankers on Mexico. A substantial reduction is made by the proposed budget in the expenses of the Department of War and Marine for 1931, the quota for that department being fixed at \$35,000,000 as com-

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pared with \$39,500,000 for 1930. With the demobilization of eight cavalry regiments to conform with the re-

duced budget of the Department of War and Marine, the regular Mexican army in mid-November consisted of 59,390 men, of whom 382 are Generals. Auxiliary troops, including two Generals, number 2,015.

With the object of ameliorating the economic and industrial depression in Mexico, the Minister of Finance on Nov. 22 announced that steps had been taken to increase tariffs for the protection and development of national industry. The initial remedies were in the form of Presidential decrees which provide for substantial increases in duties on a number of articles imported chiefly from the United States. Duties were decreased on articles which cannot be produced in Mexico and which will contribute to the agricultural independence and the welfare of the country. For the specific purpose of increasing mining operations in Mexico, which have been curtailed greatly because of the decline in the price of silver, a Presidential decree abolished the present 63 1-3 per cent levy on the importation of mining machinery when such machinery cannot be manufactured in Mexico. A Presidential decree on Nov. 22 removed the export tax from cattle shipments. This action was taken because of the heavy decline in cattle exports to the United States since the new American tariffs went into effect.

ANTI-ORIENTAL AGITATION IN MEXICO

A renewal of anti-Oriental agitation in Northwestern Mexico, which assumed major proportions several years ago, was indicated by the efforts of former Senator Guillermo



MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

Laveaga of Sinaloa to prohibit the entry of Chinese into Mexico. He alleged that 40 per cent of all the children born in Sinaloa are those of Chinese fathers and Mexican mothers and that these children are not registered as Mexicans. He also maintained that in the States of Sinaloa, Nayarit, Sonora and Lower California more than 500,000 Chinese dominate small businesses to the detriment of Mexicans. Señor Laveaga in mid-November called upon all citizens of his State to assist in social reforms that were calculated to check the increasing influx of Asiatics into Mexico. This followed a recent proposal by the Mexico City Anti-Chinese League to prevent the establishment of any kind of business by Chinese within the Federal District and to establish a legal ban against Chinese marrying Mexican women.

Values of both gold and silver continued to slump in Mexico during November despite remedial efforts previously undertaken by the government and banking interests. On Nov. 12 the silver Mexican peso fell to the unprecedented low value of 15 per cent less than gold, whereas the normal difference is 3 per cent. This slump

was accompanied by a sharp decline in the value of both gold and silver in exchange for the American dollar. Quotations that day showed 100 American dollars selling for 259 silver pesos and for 224 gold pesos, with banks generally selling gold pesos at 15 per cent above silver.

Former Provisional President Portes Gil passed through the United States early in November on his way to Europe on an official mission to study social and economic conditions. Señor Portes Gil, whose resignation as head of the dominant National Revolutionary party in October created some concern in political circles, asserted that "there is absolutely no [political] unrest in Mexico" and expressed his readiness at any time "to be of service to the Revolutionary party of Mexico."

In view of the constitutional provision making all churches the property of the nation, President Ortiz Rubio on Nov. 15 ordered that on future holidays the Mexican flag be raised on all churches throughout the republic.

POLITICAL UNREST IN CUBA

The tense political situation in Cuba became worse in mid-November

and gave certain proof of a growing island-wide unrest. Trouble broke out in Santiago on Nov. 10 when demonstrators and the police clashed, one person being killed and fifty wounded. An almost continuous series of clashes and riotings in Havana, participated in largely by students, resulted in the death of a half dozen persons, the wounding of many others, and a property loss of \$100,000. As a result, on Nov. 13 constitutional guarantees in Havana and its environs were suspended by President Machado for a period of twenty-five days.

Dispatches on Nov. 14 reported the patrolling of the streets of Havana by armed soldiers, a ban on all student gatherings, and a censorship on all outgoing cable dispatches and on all Havana newspapers. Thirteen of the capital's papers finally suspended publication rather than submit to government supervision. Officials on Nov. 14 attributed responsibility for the disturbances to Communist rather than to student bodies and labor unions, and a number of Communist agitators were promptly arrested. At the same time both the government and the students in Havana showed a willingness to settle their disputes in an amicable manner, with Senator Alberto Barreras acting as mediator. As a result, a number of conditions under which they would be willing to return to classes were drafted by the students of the University of Havana. Despite these conciliatory measures a serious clash between a belligerent group and light guards occurred in the downtown section of Havana on Nov. 15; other clashes of a less serious character were reported the same day. On Nov. 16, as a precautionary measure, American property in Cuba and the United States Embassy were put under special police guard.

The maintenance of public order throughout Cuba thereafter enabled the Senate Electoral Committee on Nov. 18 to consider suggested electoral reforms. President Machado was also inspired to issue an order for the

release of all students who had been confined in Cienfuegos, in the province of Santa Clara, since the riots of the previous week. Three days later efforts of the police were renewed to ferret out alleged plots against the government and to halt propaganda that tended to spread alarm while Cuba was in a state of admitted political unrest. The same day the Senate, by a vote of 46 to 4, gave its permission to President Machado to suspend constitutional guarantees throughout the island. Similar permission was granted by the Chamber of Deputies on Nov. 26, after several days of heated arguments on the proposal. The following day full liberty of the press was restored throughout Cuba after a rigid censorship had been imposed for fifteen days. Censors were removed also from cable offices to permit newspaper correspondents to transmit information freely concerning the political situation prevailing in the republic.

A manifesto, alleged to have been signed in Havana by Colonel Carlos Mendieta, head of the opposition Nationalist party of Cuba, was made public in Key West, Fla., on Nov. 22. Briefly, the manifesto declared "a state of revolution" exists in Cuba; characterized President Machado as "a political tyrant"; declared that "the Cuban population is near desperation"; charged cruel treatment to students by government officials; declared that the elections of Nov. 1 were "marked by frauds so glaring as to occasion surprise to all who have sought for purity of suffrage in the republic," and asserted that the Nationalist party, "maintaining the integrity of its program of liberty and justice, protests before the world at such aggressions against the life and liberties of a people whose rights are being disregarded by the Machado Government."

As tranquillity had apparently been restored in Cuba, President Machado on Dec. 1 signed a decree restoring constitutional guarantees in Havana

and its environs. At the same time the President authorized the reopening of the National University and other government-supported schools, some of which had been closed during the November elections and during the eighteen-day period that constitutional guarantees were suspended. The quiet was short-lived, however, as the students protested against the reopening of the university by Presidential decree instead of by the institution's own act. In clashes with the police in a downtown demonstration on Dec. 3, one policeman was killed, another one was wounded and fifty students, including four girls, were arrested. The disorders continued for several days and on Dec. 11, after a secret Cabinet meeting at which the United States Ambassador, Harry F. Guggenheim, was reported to be present, President Machado suspended constitutional guarantees throughout Cuba. Numbers of business and professional men, graduates of the National University, pledged their support to the rioting undergraduates. Two hundred physicians, representing the Cuban Medical Association, voted to answer neither sick calls nor to issue prescriptions if the government carried out its threat to imprison professors who supported the student leaders. Rumors were general throughout the island that President Machado would resign, but this he flatly denied. The suspension of constitutional guarantees was equivalent to the setting up of martial law.

CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT IN HAITI

Following Congressional elections on Oct. 14, the new Haitian Congress assembled early in November. On Nov. 11 Joseph Jolibois, an avowed opponent of the American occupation, was elected President of the Chamber of Deputies. M. Jolibois is the first man ever to have been elected to the Haitian Congress on a Labor ticket. He is president of the National Confederation of Workers and Peasants of

Haiti and, in addition, is publisher of a weekly newspaper. Of greater significance was the election by the National Assembly of Stenio Vincent as President of Haiti on Nov. 18. M. Vincent, who is the first constitutional President since the American military occupation began in 1915, is editor of the *Anti-American Haitian Journal*. He is president of the Bar Association of Port au Prince and has served in the diplomatic service, as President of the Senate and as a Cabinet member. In a statement issued on Nov. 27 President Vincent expressed a desire on the part of the new government to maintain good relations with the United States.

A further step toward fulfillment of the recommendations made to President Hoover by the Forbes Investigating Commission last Spring was taken in November with the resumption of diplomatic relations between the United States and Haiti. Brig. Gen. Russell, who had headed the military commission since 1922, left for the United States on Nov. 12. Four days later Dr. Dana G. Munro, recently appointed Minister from the United States, arrived in Port au Prince.

Complaints by Haitians against the "service technique," or separate vocational school system set up in Haiti during the American military occupation that began in 1915, were found to be justified by the special United States Commission on Education in Haiti in a report submitted to President Hoover on Nov. 30. Furthermore, the "service technique" was found to have contributed to outbreaks late last year. The outstanding recommendation of the commission is that these schools be articulated with the national school system of Haiti and that financial and administrative aid be contributed by the United States toward developing an adequate system of education in Haiti. In all, sixty-one specific recommendations were made by the commission, which was headed

by Dr. R. R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee Institute.

BANDITRY IN NICARAGUA

Airplanes of the United States Marine Corps were employed early in November in trailing bandits in North-western Nicaragua who were charged with having burned the barracks of the National Guard at Matiguas. The planes bombed a group of alleged bandits. Because of the operation of bandits in the northwest, President Moncada on Nov. 13 re-established martial law, which had been raised since July in order to insure free elections, in the Departments of Esteri,

Nueva Segovia, Jinotega and Matagalpa. The same day announcement was made that Sergeant Russell White of the Marine Corps, who was serving with the Nicaraguan National Guard, had been killed in action with bandits in the province of Leon. An increase of banditry in the northern provinces was reported to the National Guard in Managua on Nov. 29.

Final returns in the Congressional elections held in Nicaragua on Nov. 2 showed an overwhelming Liberal victory. As a result the Liberals now hold 17 seats of the 24 in the Senate and 28 of the 43 seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

SOUTH AMERICA

FOR the first time in a number of months this chronicle of South American history in the making opens with-

out a report of a successful revolution, a revolutionary outbreak or rumors of revolutionary activity. Enough has occurred in the field of revolutionary activity to provide material for the study of that remedy for evils, which, though not always logically related, have seemed to be combined in most of the recent political disturbances in South America. These evils are, of course, undemocratic or unconstitutional government and economic depression. A government set up by force is a remedy for the first only if it results within a reasonable time in a political readjustment by constitutional processes which remove the irritation. On the other hand, revolution can never be a complete cure for economic depression of the present worldwide type. Government changes may bring about noteworthy improvement in the national economic situation through the elimination of waste, extravagance or graft in governmental operations and the substitution of ef-

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ficient and economical management of public affairs. Improvement of this sort, however, while wholesome in the extreme, can only have

a cumulative and contributory effect in the solution of the fundamental problem, which is at bottom international and economic, not national and political.

It is from this point of view that one ought to consider the course of events in the four countries which experienced governmental overturns by violence in 1930. Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Bolivia should provide during coming months ample evidence of the effectiveness of the remedy that their respective peoples have invoked for their political and economic difficulties. The four countries are sufficiently diverse—in racial composition, in social and political organization, in purely national economic factors, in topography and climate and in commercial and agricultural productivity—to afford what seems to be satisfactory and reliable data upon which to measure the effectiveness of revolution. The laboratories are in operation. Whether their results will be wholly

or only partly beneficial will be determined during 1931, which, one may reasonably hope, will be a year of construction and reconstruction as 1930 was one of revolution.

To remark, as the *South Pacific Mail* (Santiago, Chile) is reported to have done, that the revolutions in Brazil, Argentina, Peru and Bolivia "show no signs of having mitigated, much less removed, the effects of the world economic crisis in their respective countries," is not only expecting too much in the way of immediate betterment, as that influential journal admits, but is mistaking the possibilities of the remedial effects of purely political or governmental activities upon what is fundamentally an economic problem. It is true that not much improvement has been noted. The depression has not been mitigated. Budgets are being balanced with great difficulty. National loan obligations are a pressing problem, provision for needed future loans an even greater one. Financial difficulties still oppress governments and business alike in most of the South American countries, and particularly in the four that have sought economic relief in revolution.

THE BRAZILIAN SITUATION

The Brazilian situation, both politically and economically, is extraordinarily complex. The triumph of the revolutionists brought into power a group of leaders of undoubted capacity, but the problems which face them are stupendous. The currency situation is especially serious. The money exchange, which ceased operations with the outbreak of the revolution early in October, has remained closed, with the moratorium proclaimed by the government still in effect; a two-week extension was declared on Nov. 15 and again on Nov. 30. Meanwhile banks have been allowed to buy a limited amount of exchange (approximately \$25,000 daily) upon special permit issued by a government bureau. While the effect of



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this procedure is to maintain quotations for the milreis, the situation is of course highly artificial. Resumption of the free flow of exchange cannot be long postponed without further stagnation of the already greatly depressed domestic and foreign trade. When the inevitable reckoning comes, it is difficult to see how Brazilian currency can stand up under the strain that it will have to bear. Meanwhile, unpaid drafts are accumulating in the banks; business is timid and uncertain, and industrial plants, particularly those of the smaller companies, are shutting down. Unemployment is increasing; an estimate published on Dec. 1 placed the unemployed in Sao Paulo alone at 50,000. Numerous strikes, complicated by communist activities, have been reported, though the government was successful during November in adjusting a number of major strikes.

An element of strength in the financial situation is the confidence felt in Dr. José Whitaker, an able Sao Paulo banker who is Minister of Finance in

the new government. A bond issue of \$36,000,000 announced on Nov. 21 was oversubscribed within two days by banks of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo. The cut in the President's salary from \$24,000 to \$12,000 a year is evidence of a genuine desire for economy in the government. Dr. Whitaker has declared that it is his policy "ultimately to develop full freedom of trade by the abandonment of all restrictions on the coffee market"—a step which means that the end of the ill-fated government-subsidized coffee monopoly is in sight.

In political matters some progress has been made. Troops have been demobilized, and the leaders in the former government have been allowed to depart in peace under a decree issued by Dr. Oswaldo Aranha, Minister of the Interior, which granted them freedom provided they were willing to accept ten years of exile. The ex-President, Dr. Washington Luis, and the former President-elect, Dr. Julio Prestes, are now in France, and a number of other high officials of the fallen régime are in Portugal or France. Two Cabinet changes have taken place—the replacement of General Juarez Tavora, who is aiding in the establishment of the new régime in the Northern States, as Minister of Communications by José Americo de Almeida, also from the North; and the appointment of Lindolfo Collor, representative of the revolutionists in Buenos Aires, to the newly created post of Minister of Labor.

On Nov. 15 Brazil celebrated the forty-first anniversary of her independence with a great military parade in Rio de Janeiro and an imposing tribute to the memory of Joao Pessoa, running-mate of President Vargas in the elections of last March, whose assassination helped to precipitate the revolution.

ARGENTINE FINANCES

The government of General Uriburu in Argentina is apparently making strenuous efforts to keep the govern-

ment's expenditures within the estimated revenue for 1931, about \$275,000,000. A large number of government employes have been discharged. Provincial governments have been forbidden to create new taxation or borrow money, according to reports. An announcement by the President on Dec. 5 placed the floating debt of Argentina at about \$504,000,000, of which \$288,000,000 was the deficit from the two years' administration of ex-President Irigoyen and \$200,000,000 the unfunded portion of a debt of \$440,000,000 left by his first administration, which ended in 1924.

Dr. Irigoyen and his Minister of the Interior, Elpidio Gonzáles, were transferred on Nov. 30 from the cruiser Buenos Aires to the island of Martín García, in the mouth of the La Plata River. It was announced on Dec. 6 that the ex-President would be brought to trial on charges of having issued decrees in violation of the Federal Constitution. Rumors of plots against the government were followed by the arrest of some sixty Irigoyenistas on Dec. 9.

In Peru the new government is faced with a serious financial problem, complicated by labor troubles and by rumored disorders in Lima. Rioting in the Andean mining region during November caused the deaths of two Americans and led to an exodus of foreigners from the Cerro de Pasco district, which has been the scene of labor troubles since the beginning of the new régime. The military Cabinet formed on Aug. 27 resigned on Nov. 21. The new Cabinet which took office on the following day included only three of the former members. Of the seven members of the new Cabinet, two are civilians. The newspaper *La Prensa*, second largest in Lima, was suspended on Nov. 24 after publishing a criticism of the new Cabinet.

The proposed single ticket for President and Vice Presidents in the approaching elections in Bolivia was definitely abandoned early in Decem-

ber, following statements by Israel Montes and Bautista Saavedra, the candidates for the two Vice Presidential posts, each of whom is a former President of Bolivia. Dr. Daniel Salamanca, the joint candidate for President, has, however, been nominated by both Liberals and Republicans, and he also has the support of the Genuine Republicans. (Obstacles in the way of the single ticket were indicated in October CURRENT HISTORY, page 122.)

Rumors of disturbances in Uruguay early in November proved to be unfounded. The elections of Nov. 30 were conducted without disorder and, according to unchecked returns, appar-

ently resulted in the election of Dr. Gabriel Terra. Under a party agreement between the four groups of Colorados, or Reds, the entire Colorado vote was to have been given to Pedro Manini Rios, candidate of the Riverista faction, provided he received 17½ per cent of the votes cast; otherwise to the leading Colorado candidate, who happened to be Dr. Terra, candidate of the Batllista faction. A curious arrangement, sanctioned by law, permits all the Colorado votes to be counted for the leading Colorado candidate, although the highest individual vote was received by Dr. Luis Alberto de Herrera, candidate of the White (Blanco), or Nationalist, party.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

LIFE to the British Empire this Winter is one conference after another. The Imperial Conference

was followed in quick succession by the conference on India which began on Nov. 12. (See article on pages 503-509 of this magazine.) King George V, who bears in India the more exalted title of Emperor, pointed out to the assembled Princes and delegates from India the unique character of the occasion: "More than once the Sovereign has summoned historic assemblies on the soil of India, but never before have British and Indian statesmen and rulers of Indian States met, as you now meet, in one place and round one table to discuss the future system of government for India and seek agreement for the guidance of my Parliament as to the foundations on which it must stand." The King's opening speech was broadcast throughout England and the United States.

Premier MacDonald, the Chairman, demanded cooperation by India as the price of home rule, while the Indian delegates insisted on home rule as the price of cooperation with the rest of

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the Empire. The Prime Minister said: "The men who cooperate are the pioneers of progress. Civil disorder is

the way to reaction; it destroys the social mentality from which all constitutional development derives its source and upon which all stable internal administration is based. * * * Things have been said in the past, whether in anger, in blindness or for mischief, which we had better forget at these tables."

The Gaekwar of Baroda expressed the views of some Indians, saying: "Concessions in generous measure to the aspirations of the people of India—by that alone can realization be given to the notable work of this great nation." The delegates from British India were more specific and outspoken than those from the semi-independent native States. Srinivasa Sastri cited a speech by the Viceroy a year before "to the effect that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress * * * was the attainment of dominion status" and hoped that the conference would "interpret these statements liberally." M. A. Jinnah



THE BRITISH EMPIRE

stated that he hoped the Prime Ministers from the British Dominions, present as guests, would "witness the birth of a new Dominion of India."

These references show that "dominion status" has become the shibboleth of the moderate nationalists in India who have assented to cooperation with the British Government and who alone are represented at the conference. The more extreme nationalists who demand complete independence have boycotted the conference and denounced its proceedings as certain to lead to no satisfactory conclusion. But even the demand for dominion home rule is causing some disquiet to the members of the British Government. They do not shrink from the phrase itself but they fear that its use will raise false hopes. Dominion government as Canada, Australia or South Africa would use the term implies a representative parliament in which officials of the mother country have no place and a ministry wholly responsible to that parliament, even if nominally appointed by a British governor. Very few British politicians, even of the Labor party, believe that India is yet ready for so full a measure of self-government. They lay stress on the fact that India has problems which do not appear among the existing dominions:

an illiterate peasantry numbering tens of millions, who have a political horizon no wider than the village (see article on pages 510-514 of this magazine), a horizontal stratification of society into exclusive castes, and a vertical division caused in part by differences in race and language (which perhaps matter less than they would in Europe), but much more by differences in religion and especially the age-old antagonism between Moslem and Hindu. Many Mohammedans and some minor religious communities demand that when self-government comes it must be accompanied by guarantees for the protection of minority rights.

The official viewpoint of Lord Irwin, the British Viceroy, and his associates was set forth in a long report discussing the proposals of the recent commission headed by Sir John Simon. The report accepted the idea of a federal government for all India, including the native States, but added the caution that "this ideal is at present distant" and that it "cannot be artificially hastened." The first step toward self-government should be rather in the opposite direction, to "decentralize with a view to permitting the development in the provinces of that degree of independent activity which should characterize the units of a federation." Each province ought to

be "as far as possible mistress in its own house." As to the structure of government, "while containing a definite official element and not formally responsible to the Indian Legislature," the executive should "yet include an appreciable popular element consisting of elected members of the Legislature." Every effort should be made to keep the executive and legislative branches of the government in harmony and thus avoid the dangerous possibility of "a completely irresponsible Executive confronted by a predominantly popular Legislature," which, it will be recalled, was exactly the difficulty experienced by the thirteen American Colonies before the Revolution. The northwest frontier province should have a Legislature, partly elected and partly official. Subject to the approval of Indian opinion, as represented at the London conference, the Government of Burma should be separated from that of the rest of British India. The exercise of the "functions for the government of India which reside in the Crown should be directly devolved upon the Governor General," so that the Government of India "would no longer merely be the agent of the Secretary of State" but "a distinct entity, capable of acting in domestic matters on its own initiative."

Lord Irwin's dispatch did not shun the idea of dominion status but rather suggested that its projected reforms might be taken as a first step in that direction. "If we read history aright, it is exactly in this way that each and all of the dominions have attained to constitutional nationhood." That this ultimate goal is still far to seek, however, was evident from the "safeguards" demanded by the British Government "on certain essential points, for instance, that the defense of India from external attack, which rests, and for many years must continue to rest, largely on British troops, is fully assured; that relations with foreign States * * * are conducted

under its authority; that the conditions of internal security are maintained; that financial obligations are provided for and the requisite financial stability and credit of the country adequately secured; that reasonable treatment is accorded to minorities; and that unfair discrimination is not practiced against any section of the community. In our opinion the ultimate control of these matters must in present conditions reside in the British Parliament."

One of the most interesting developments of the conference was the apparent willingness of some of the leading princes of native States to enter with British India into a common federation if a sufficient measure of home rule were accorded to the new "dominion." The Maharajah of Bikaner, while insisting that the native States "are already sovereign and autonomous as of right," said they would sanction "a federal system of government, composed of the States and of British India." The Prime Minister of Mysore, a constitutional monarchy (unlike most native States, which are despotic), made the interesting proposal that the native States send delegates to an upper house, where they would have votes on questions which concerned all India, but act merely in an advisory capacity on measures that affected British India only. The Maharajah of Alwar proposed the phrase "The United States of India." Premier MacDonald assured the conference that in his opinion "the Princes have given a most substantial contribution in opening up the way to a really united and federated India."

In accordance with the recommendation of the Simon Commission and of Lord Irwin and the overwhelming demand of the politically articulate part of the Burmese people, the round-table committee on Burmese affairs recommended on Dec. 9 that Premier MacDonald make public announcement that Burma would be given a separate administration. U Ba Pe, the

chief Burmese delegate, declared that "as a part of the Indian Empire our own national status is disappearing altogether" and urged that while Burma must have a separate Constitution from that of India, there should be no delay in according to Burma at least as liberal a Constitution as might be granted to India. Burma has an area of 233,707 square miles and a population of over 13,000,000.

Some indication of the rapid change in the ideals and customs of India is apparent in the addresses delivered at the conference by Begum Shah Nawaz, a woman delegate, and Dr. Ambedkar, a representative of the "depressed classes," the polite phrase used for low caste and outcaste Hindus, usually referred to as "Untouchables." Two of the most rigid traditions in Indian life (though this is unequally true for different parts of the country) have been the seclusion and subordination of women and the exclusion from public life of the "Untouchables." Both prejudices are still strong among the uneducated, but they are evidently waning among the leaders of the nation. Another interesting development was the apparent willingness of Moslems and Hindus to cooperate at least in certain phases of the work of the conference.

MACDONALD GOVERNMENT'S DIFFICULTIES

The MacDonald Government continues on its troubled way. (See article on pages 545-548 of this magazine.) As the British Parliamentary session advanced the dependence of the Labor Ministry on the forbearance of the Liberals became increasingly evident. The chief measure of social legislation brought forward in recent weeks was the bill for increasing the compulsory school age from 14 to 15 years, together with aid for necessitous families who could not otherwise afford this extended period of schooling. The Conservatives were almost solidly against the bill, but widespread Liberal support gave it a ma-

jority of 67 on the second reading, and a majority of 29 on the crucial question of approving the grant of funds for maintenance allowances. Sir John Simon and Sir Robert Hutchinson, however, were among the Liberals who voted in opposition on the latter occasion. They had previously announced to Lloyd George as their party leader that they would make no further effort to keep the Labor Ministry in power merely to avert a general election. Lloyd George, while strongly condemning the failure of the Labor Government to make even an attempt to remedy unemployment, opposed any attempt to force a general election on the ground that it would be a blow to free trade. He insisted that no election held under present conditions could be fair, since the present system of voting by single-member constituencies (as opposed to the system of proportional representation which the Liberals favor) led to under-representation of the Liberal party and played into the hands of the Conservatives. Electoral reform would "enable a majority of free traders to stave off a tariff imposed by a minority government." With Liberal aid again, the Labor Government by a majority of 67 staved off a resolution of censure offered by the Opposition in the House of Commons based on the alleged failure of the recent imperial conference. A resolution of censure was carried in the House of Lords on Dec. 2, but that was taken for granted since the Conservatives have had a continuous majority in the Lords for the past several decades.

The Liberal support was the more welcome to Premier MacDonald's harassed government because of rebellion within the Labor ranks. Sir Oswald Mosley, a young Socialist in the Commons, supported by a few radical members, issued a manifesto demanding the end of party politics and the creation of an emergency Cabinet of five members to carry through drastic relief works for the benefit of the

unemployed. While considerable sympathy for the proposal was apparent among the younger men of all three parties, there was an adverse reaction among most of the Laborites. James Maxton, leader of the Labor party's Left Wing, said: "I will not help set up a dictator in this country. We want more democracy, not less. Sir Oswald's plan would give us less."

THE NEW GOVERNOR GENERAL OF AUSTRALIA

Sir Isaac Alfred Isaacs, Chief Justice of Australia, was appointed Governor General of the Commonwealth of Australia on Dec. 2. Hitherto it has been the custom for dominion Governors to come from the British Isles so that they might be regarded as representatives of the home government in its dealings with the dominions. Sir Isaac is an Australian by birth. Until his appointment as a justice of the High Court twenty-four years ago he had been active in Australian politics as a Liberal with some leaning toward Labor ideas, and on these grounds the British press was disposed to criticize the appointment because it placed the office of Governor General "in politics" and removed it from that upper atmosphere of impartial aloofness from local party life which had been traditional. The other novelty, implied in the new relationship of the dominions to the empire and therefore not so critically regarded, was that the appointment was made by the Crown on the direct advice of the Australian Prime Minister without the formal intervention of the British Ministry. Sir Isaac, who is now 75 years of age, was one of the men who framed the Constitution of the Commonwealth. Later he was Attorney General. By many he is regarded as the greatest legal authority yet produced in Australia.

In spite of the recent victory of the Labor party in New South Wales on the issue that retrenchment of public expenditures must be rejected if it

meant lower wages or curtailed government services to the community, the responsible Labor party leaders in both State and nation would have nothing to do with "repudiation." The "lunatic fringe" of the party (to borrow an old phrase from Roosevelt) urged a suspension of payments on the very heavy debts which the Commonwealth had incurred. Prime Minister Scullin, himself a Laborite, sent a message from London urging the Federal Cabinet to resist all demands that might be interpreted as debt repudiation, and Acting Prime Minister Fenton with the rest of the ministry announced that they were ready to redeem the obligations which matured in December without waiting for the year's delay asked for by the Labor party caucus.

Meanwhile, New South Wales was in the midst of a constitutional crisis. J. T. Lang, the Premier of the State, claimed that the recent elections had given him a mandate to abolish the Legislative Council or upper house, but the Premier found this body unwilling to consent to its own demise. He then sought the support of the Governor who promised to appoint sufficient members to swamp the upper house. When the names of the appointees were presented to the Governor he refused to approve them. As a result there were prospects of a new election to force the issue.

The economic depression shows little signs of improvement. Australian imports for the four months ended Nov. 30 declined from \$255,000,000, the amount for the same period last year, to \$135,000,000. One method to stimulate Australian economic life was announced on Nov. 27 when it became known that the government would pay a bonus of \$5 on every ounce of gold produced in Australia which is in excess of the total production of last year. This is expected to attract a great amount of outside capital and to provide for the employment of 50,000 persons. On Nov. 18 it was announced that an Australian trade mis-

sion would visit Canada as part of a plan to expand Australia's markets.

CANADIAN PROBLEMS

Premier Bennett, who was one of the outstanding figures at the Imperial Conference, left England on Dec. 4 to face a domestic situation in Canada which was full of perplexities and complications. In spite of his prominence at the conference the Canadian Premier achieved little that will aid his party's fortunes at home. Undoubtedly the paramount problem which faces the Canadian Government is the agricultural crisis. Western Canada, which lives almost by wheat alone, has watched the price drop steadily since midsummer. When it reached 60 cents a bushel in November, the farmer was selling below the cost of production. Since most of the farmers are in debt for machinery and are carrying mortgages on their farms, there is considerable discontent. At a district meeting in Saskatchewan, early in November, a resolution was passed favoring an independent dominion of the region west of the Great Lakes.

This, however, is only one of the problems which Mr. Bennett will have to face. His first budget will show a deficit, because customs, sales taxes and excise duties have declined greatly; only the income tax is holding its own. The Ministry is aiding unemployment by appropriating large sums for relief and to provide work for the unemployed. In the middle of November the total expenditures for relief amounted to \$45,660,705.

G. Howard Ferguson, Premier of Ontario, was appointed Canada's High Commissioner to London on Nov. 28. Mr. Ferguson became leader of the Conservative party in Ontario ten years ago and led the party successfully during the decade. He succeeds the late P. C. Larkin, who died on Feb. 3.

One of the interesting modern developments in Canada is the use of radio in the remote Arctic regions.

The Department of National Defense operates a chain which extends from near the mouth of the Mackenzie River on the Arctic Ocean up the river to the Province of Alberta. Another government chain serves to connect the region about Hudson Bay with Ottawa. Some private companies use radio to connect their distant mines, canneries or lumber camps with their main office. The railways likewise are using radio communication to supplement the telegraph systems. This new means of communication is serving in many cases to break down the vast distances that have been such a handicap to the development of Canadian economic life.

REOPENING OF THE DAIL EIREANN

The Dail Eireann reopened after the Summer recess on Nov. 19. President Cosgrave gave an optimistic account of the condition of the Irish Free State, but was challenged by the Opposition leader, Eamon de Valera. Mr. de Valera raised the issue of emigration and queried why this was continuing if the country was getting along so well. The government, however, is not unaware that a bad harvest, together with the depressed conditions of the world market, have placed severe strains on Irish farmers. As a temporary expedient a prohibitive duty of \$25 a hundredweight has been placed on all imported butter. The government has promised also to raise \$1,500,000 for temporary employment in the rural areas.

An outburst of lawlessness reminiscent of the civil war days occurred in November. Street fighting and hooliganism accompanied the celebration of Armistice Day in Dublin. Soon afterward the country was filled with rumors of disaffection in the Free State Army, and on Nov. 23 a constable was shot outside the house of the Speaker of the Dail. This was believed to be part of a plot to assassinate General Richard Mulcahy, Minis-

ter of Local Government and Public Health. Meanwhile the Defense Association, the army reserves, had been disbanded by a government order, and after an investigation the association

was charged with "revolutionary activities." On Nov. 29 the police raided the Dublin headquarters of the Sinn Fein, carting away many papers and documents, but making no arrests.

FRANCE AND BELGIUM

THE early Winter was marked by a series of accidents for which nature and man must share

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the responsibility—a landslide that carried away part of the historic hill of Fourvière at Lyons on Nov. 13, with the death of some forty inhabitants, firemen and policemen; the collapse of a half-dozen banks, swallowing up 1,500,000,000 francs of savings of small investors; the drowning of a train in the waters of the Loire near Ancenis, as the result of the overflowing of the river; the rising of the Seine, threatening a flood similar to the one that devastated Paris in 1910, and, finally, on Dec. 4, exactly one month after the reconvening of Parliament, the fall of the Tardieu Ministry by an adverse vote of 147 to 139 in the Senate, after an interpellation on its general policy.

Observers of the political situation who have watched the Opposition's numerous unsuccessful attempts to overthrow the French Cabinet were less surprised by their final success than by the fact that the damage was done in the Senate. This was due to the slow but gradual shifting toward the Left which has been going on in the upper house. Even last July the Senate came within five votes of defeating the government on a small incident relating to the problem of secular schools in France.

The Senate has steadily become more radical until now its largest group is composed of Radical-Socialists; and even the Socialists have gained a few seats. The Tardieu Ministry was never very popular with

those groups in the Senate, and it has become an accepted doctrine, fortified by three precedents, that the

Senate can overthrow a Cabinet.

The event was not altogether unexpected. M. Tardieu, whose second Cabinet came into office last March, had just about outlived the traditional lifetime of a French Ministry. Also, the faithful, although uncertain, majority that had saved him in so many votes of confidence was rapidly disintegrating, and the small plurality of 47 which supported him in the debate on foreign affairs at 4 A. M. on Nov. 14, after M. Briand's vehement address and M. Tardieu's defense, later fell to 14 in one of the more critical votes.

This vote was on an unexpected issue brought about by one of those political financial scandals not uncommon in recent French history, such as the Panama affair of 1892 and the Rochette case before the war. The last scandal concerned the downfall of a prominent financier, Albert Oustric. In any other country the ill wind of financial panic and of bankruptcies which hit Paris at the beginning of November, causing the downfall of Oustric and the failure of several banks, might have been looked upon merely as one of those inevitable happenings of the business world. But in France every event of any moment has its immediate repercussions in Parliament, and the Ministry stands responsible for every untoward event, however far removed from its field of authority, and must submit to a vote of confidence or of censure for it.



FRANCE AND BELGIUM

In this case the government had to interfere, and did so successfully, to rescue the Adam Bank, which had been the victim of the wild speculations of Oustric, whose meteoric career had brought him to the top of the financial ladder and made him one of the spectacular figures of Paris, with considerable influence and many friends in the political world. Several lucky operations had given him control over important industrial concerns, and even over some old and respected institutions like the Adam Bank.

One method was to acquire a new business and then issue stock for four or five times the purchase price. Another was the creation of a holding company called the *Holfra (Holding Français)*. The shares of the latter sold at first very well, but the scheme, which might have succeeded on a rising market, was hit by the Wall Street slump. Oustric had to sustain his stocks by buying them with money which became more and more difficult to secure. He was accused, in this connection, of having dipped into the resources of several of his banks and of having generally boosted his properties by fraudulent means.

Two Deputies, a young Socialist, M.

Monnet, and a Radical-Socialist, the former Minister George Bonnet, brought the matter before Parliament on Nov. 14. They accused the government of having failed to protect the investors against a speculator whose activities had been known for nearly two years. They stated that Oustric's dealings would have been impossible without support in high places, and especially among members of Parliament. Thirty-three members, in fact, according to the unsupported rumors of the lobbies reported by M. Daladier, had been connected with Oustric. Raoul Peret, Minister of Justice, was accused openly by M. Monnet of having, as Minister of Finance, authorized in 1926 the quotation on the stock market of an Italian security, *Snia Viscosa*, in which Oustric was interested. M. Peret acknowledged the fact, but proved, to the satisfaction of the Chamber, that the operation was quite regular. He had to acknowledge also, however, that six months later, when once more he was only a Deputy, he had acted as counsel for Oustric. This did not look so well, although M. Tardieu pleaded that lawyers who were Deputies—there are 122 in the House—could not always foresee that their clients were going to default.

M. Peret, in the face of these criticisms, resigned his position as Minister of Justice, to be replaced immediately by the honest and faithful "ex-watchdog of the treasury," M. Chéron. On Nov. 14, supported by 318 votes against 271, M. Tardieu had to yield to the pressure of the House and accept the nomination of a general commission of inquiry, which he had at first opposed, to investigate the so-called "intermixture of politics and finance." On Nov. 28 two well-known Under-Secretaries, Falcoz and Eugène Lautier, resigned because, as customers of the Oustric bank, they did not want to embarrass the Cabinet. This weakened still more the position of M. Tardieu, who had previously denied any other connection between his Cabinet and Oustric. There seemed to be

some justification for M. Daladier's statements. The Cabinet mustered a majority of only fourteen in a vote of confidence. M. Tardieu had neither willed nor anticipated this new development. Hence, when, on Dec. 4, Senator René Héry succeeded in presenting his interpellation on the internal and external policies of the government, M. Tardieu's fighting spirit forsook him. He fell the victim of circumstances of the moment.

The main weakness of M. Tardieu's Cabinet, as it will be of any Cabinet made up along the same lines, was the inclusion of and reliance upon members of the Right. The Radical party has all along been uncompromising in its attitude toward M. Tardieu because of its opposition to the "Republican-Democratic Union," which makes up a large part of the membership of the Right. Some members of this union are militant Roman Catholics, and all of them are out of sympathy with the external policies of M. Briand. The Radicals, for these reasons, voted against the Ministry on a foreign policy which they approved, explaining that M. Tardieu and M. Briand may have had the same policy but that they did not "speak the same diplomatic language."

The greatest hope for the formation of a stable government lay in the return of M. Poincaré to the political arena, but he steadfastly refused on the ground of ill health. President Doumergue then turned successively to Senator Louis Barthou and Senator Pierre Laval, Minister of Labor in the Tardieu Cabinet. After both had failed to secure the cooperation of the Radical-Socialist bloc, Senator Theodore Steeg, former Resident General of Morocco, was summoned. On Dec. 13 he announced the formation of a Cabinet which included the names of Leygues (Interior), Briand (Foreign Affairs), Germain-Martin (Finance), Barthou (War), as well as Chaumets, Daladier, Loucher and Painlevé. Laval and Maginot refused to join. Attacked from all sides by M.

Tardieu's supporters and the press, the life of this Cabinet was considered extremely precarious.

THE FRENCH ECONOMIC SITUATION

The signs of an economic slump, long overdue, have been slowly accumulating with the reduction of French trade by \$396,760,000 in the first ten months of the year 1930, the drop of 10 per cent in imports and 13 per cent in exports, and the rise of retail prices by 11 points in three months in spite of a drop of 29 in wholesale prices. If we add to these figures a decrease of \$20,000,000 in tax returns for October, the depression of the Bourse, demoralized by all the bank failures; worries over alleged difficulties of the group controlling the oil supplies of Poland, the losses incurred by French investors through the financial depression, the resentment of the people against the rising cost of living, a beginning of unemployment in the clerical forces of investment houses and big stores, the new policy of hand-to-mouth buying on the part of a scared purchasing public, and the hoarding of bank notes, we have a less optimistic picture of the economic situation than was given previously in official statements and Ministerial speeches.

Nevertheless, the optimism consistently stressed by M. Tardieu continues to be partially justified. The main reason for the relative innocuousness of this long-delayed crisis is the fact that France had her real crisis four years ago when the franc fell so violently and when settlement was obtained in 1928 by the amputation of four-fifths of the country's internal, national and other debts, through stabilization at one-fifth of the franc's pre-war value.

CRISES IN BELGIUM

Five Liberal Ministers of the Belgian Cabinet on Nov. 11 sent in their resignations, and Premier Jaspar, in

turn, presented to the King the resignation of the whole coalition Cabinet, which could not function without its Liberal members. The cause of this occurrence is to be sought in the linguistic controversy which has remained the most disturbing feature of Belgian political life.

The King refused M. Jaspar's resignation on the ground that in the absence of a vote of Parliament defeating the Cabinet, and in view of the fact that he himself had not withdrawn his confidence, there was no justification for the action of the Ministry. The Cabinet yielded to the King's request and appeared before the Parliament with a statement explaining its position. From M. Jaspar's remarks and from the speeches delivered during the long discussion that ensued, both in the House and in the Senate, it appears that the measure forbidding Flemish professors to teach in the French Institute at Ghent was too drastic. Professors will hereafter be permitted to teach in the French Institute provided they do not repeat the

courses given in Flemish in the official Flemish University. M. Jaspar reminded his hearers there are more pressing questions to be settled concerning the economic crisis and the problem of Belgian security in Europe's somewhat disturbed condition.

In the midst of these political and economic troubles Belgium was visited by a mysterious calamity the exact nature of which had not, at this writing, been completely cleared up. On Dec. 4 and during the two days following, a thick fog fell like a blanket over a certain number of villages in the valley of the Meuse, above Liège, and caused the death of as many as sixty-seven people. All sorts of explanations were offered for this phenomenon—possible poison-gas emanations due to buried war material suddenly released; fumes from some of the factories of the neighborhood, especially zinc factories, and, from the official Public Health investigation, weakened respiratory systems of the victims, the majority of whom were of advanced years.

THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

SEVERAL internal party changes took place during November in Germany. The old Democratic

party, organized in 1918 out of the remnants of the pre-war Progressives by Theodor Wolff, editor of the *Berliner Tageblatt*; Dr. Schacht, F. von Siemens, Count Bernstorff, Dr. Dernburg and Walter Rathenau, was formally dissolved. This was a foregone conclusion after the formation last Summer of the new State party, which aimed to rally new elements in defense of the republic by making an appeal to idealism, youth, and a foreign policy of firmness but moderation. In the September elections, however, the new State party was less successful than its Democratic predecessor, gaining

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only twenty-five seats in the Reichstag as compared with the seventy-five Democratic seats in 1919, and

this despite the fact that the larger part of the surviving Democrats were absorbed by the new State party. Dr. Hermann Dietrich, Finance Minister in the Bruening Cabinet, who has been elected leader of the State party, has announced that the party stands by the republic but is opposed to socialistic financial legislation.

Dr. Ernst Scholz, who succeeded Dr. Stresemann as leader of the People's party, resigned his position, his place being taken by Dr. Eduard Dingeldey, one of the youngest members of the Reichstag.

The Hitlerites, who scored such an

astonishing success in the Reichstag elections, have subsequently made equally astonishing gains in several municipal elections, in some cases winning seven times as many votes as in September. A German explaining these astonishing gains would very likely say: "Hitler's party is the only one which represents any idealism." To an outside observer this so-called idealism seems to have a strong tinge of rashness and folly. But the very fact of these gains has been precisely what led the present Reichstag to acquiesce in the virtual dictatorship of the Bruening Cabinet. The Deputies preferred to let Bruening put through his financial program by means of the emergency Article 48 of the Constitution rather than to vote against him and face the danger of a consequent dissolution of the Reichstag and a new general election. They feared that the Hitlerites would make even greater gains than they did in the elections of last September.

President von Hindenberg on Dec. 1 availed himself of Article 48 to put into effect the financial program of the Bruening Cabinet. The budget comprised some thirty bills, which were summarized on page 454 of the December issue of this magazine. The program had already been approved by the Federal Council representing the various States of the German Republic.

A debate which the Hitlerites tried to force early in December on the government's foreign policy—the Young plan, reparations, Polish outrages in Upper Silesia (see article on Eastern Europe and the Balkans)—by criticizing the Foreign Minister, Dr. Curtius, was averted by Dr. Bruening. The latter threatened to take the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs himself, in addition to all his other duties, if an attempt were made to censure Dr. Curtius or to vote lack of confidence in the Cabinet's foreign policy. The vote was averted and the Reichstag adjourned for its Christmas holiday on Dec. 12.



GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

The carrying out of the government's program of price reductions has proved one of its most difficult tasks, and there have been loud complaints on the part of the working classes that the Cabinet's accomplishments have fallen far short of its promises. Railway rates, for instance, the railway managing board claimed, cannot be generally reduced, because the general depression has resulted in the estimated gross receipts of the Federal Railways being \$166,000,000 less for 1930 than for the preceding year. A reduction would further decrease receipts and would necessitate a heavy curtailment in purchases of railway materials and repairs, which would be undesirable from the point of view of safety and the unemployment situation. In one respect, however, a reduction has been conceded. Special cheap rates for the export of coal are planned to enable the mine owners in the Ruhr to get rid of a large part of the 8,000,000 tons of coal stored at the pitheads. It is hoped that this will make possible successful competition with other coal exporting countries, especially Great Britain. It will also free a large amount of capital, and the clearing of the pitheads will end the laying off of shifts and probably provide work for thousands of jobless miners.

The conflict between labor and capital in the Berlin metal industry was settled by the special arbitration court whose decision both sides had agreed to accept. The verdict, announced on Nov. 8, set a precedent for further wage cuts, and was one step toward the fulfillment of Chancellor Bruening's program of price reductions. It provided for a 3 per cent wage cut for all categories beginning on Nov. 17, an additional 5 per cent from Jan. 19, 1931, for all workers eighteen years of age and older, and a 3 per cent cut for those below eighteen. Inasmuch as a previous award, which caused a walkout of the workers, demanded immediate wage cuts of 8 and 6 per cent, respectively, the new verdict, while bearing the stamp of a compromise, is in reality a victory for the industrialists; the only advantage the workers have gained is the postponement of the 5 per cent cut by two months. The arbitration court explained that it arrived at its decision only because it had received ample assurances that a general price reduction for all necessities, especially food-stuffs, would take place simultaneously, and if necessary would be enforced by the government.

In spite of the general economic depression and of increased unemployment and suffering within Germany, her export trade has continued to show a favorable balance. The figures for October showed an increase of exports and imports of \$17,000,000 and \$23,000,000, respectively, over the figures of the preceding month. The total exports were \$240,857,142 and imports \$198,476,190, a surplus of exports over imports of \$42,380,952, in addition to \$13,190,476 worth of deliveries in kind, which for the first time are being accounted for separately. For the first ten months of 1930 exports exceeded imports by \$147,833,333, not counting deliveries in kind on the reparation account, which were \$143,523,807. This was a good omen for German interna-

tional credit and for eventual economic recovery.

NEW AUSTRIAN CABINET

The result of the Austrian elections of Nov. 9 was to leave the balance of power in the hands of the former Chancellor, Schober. Since the Socialists won 72 seats, the Christian Socialists 66, the Heimwehr 8 and the Schober bloc, composed of Peasant and Pan-German parties, 19, it was necessary for the Christian Socialist party to make concessions to Schober if it wished to obtain his support to form a majority. This was a humiliating task, since after deposing him as Chancellor the Christian Socialists had made use of their power to weaken his hold over the Vienna police, of which he is still president. On the other hand Herr Schober was bound by a pre-election pledge not to unite with the Socialists.

Herr Schober at first refused to enter a coalition Cabinet unless the Ministry of Interior was given to him, enabling him to control the Vienna police. The Christian Socialist party, on the other hand, fearing that this would mean that all the appointments which Herr Vaugoin had so hastily made to the Police Department during the tenure of office of his minority Cabinet would be revoked, refused to consent. After three weeks of party wrangling and manoeuvring Dr. Schober finally waived his demand, the more especially as it was arranged that the Ministry of Interior should be held by a member of his own bloc, Dr. Winkler. Herr Vaugoin resigned on Nov. 29 and on Dec. 3 Dr. Otto Ender, as Chancellor, was able to announce a Cabinet. Among those appointed were Dr. Schober as Vice Chancellor and Foreign Minister, Franz Winkler as Minister of the Interior and Karl Vaugoin as Minister of War. Herr Winkler, Dr. Schuerff, Minister of Justice, and Dr. Schober himself represent the Peasant and Pan-German bloc, which thus gained

three seats in the Cabinet, as compared with six for the Christian Social party, Finance Minister Juch being a non-party man. Former Chancellor Seipel, who is the directing power behind the Christian Socialists, was left out of the Cabinet at his own request on the ground of ill health.

The new Cabinet has a difficult time ahead of it as it has a majority of only two votes in Parliament over the total of the Socialists and Heimwehr on the Left and Right Wings. However, with the exception of Herr Vaugoin the members of the Cabinet are of moderate views, and its ap-

pointment apparently means the end of Fascist experiments in Austria. It has been greeted by the Socialists with the hint that they are prepared to co-operate with it in a program which puts economic considerations before political ones. This is precisely what Chancellor Ender declared would be the case. He also stressed Austria's community of interest with Germany, leading to possible efforts for closer union with Berlin by means of commercial and other forms of cooperation instead of by the political *Anschluss* which is forbidden by the Treaty of Versailles.

ITALY, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

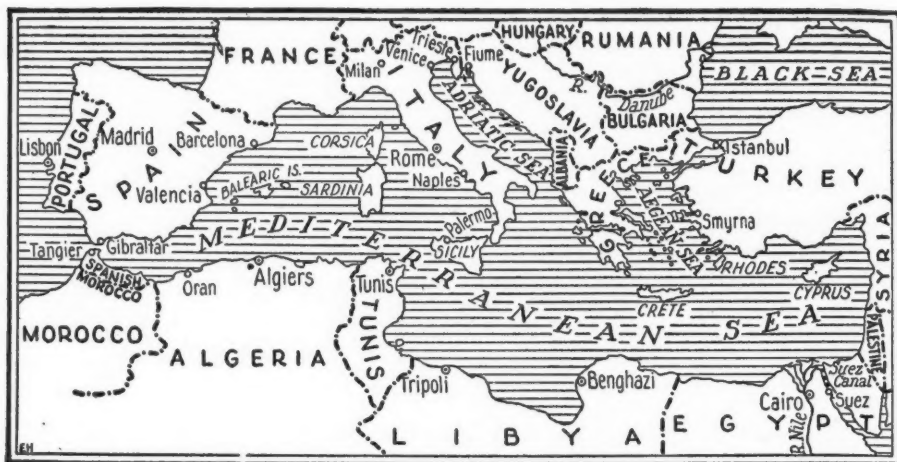
WITHIN the last few weeks there have been various evidences of growing opposition, both in Italy and abroad, to the Fascist régime. It is difficult to say, however, how much of the opposition has only now been brought to light by recent events and how much of it is deep seated, widespread and rapidly increasing. That it has been aggravated by the present economic situation there can be no question. The government is held largely responsible for the business depression which gives ample cause for political discontent and anti-Fascist activities. Early in November (see *CURRENT HISTORY* for December, page 458) numerous arrests were made of persons charged with such activities, many of them men of prominence, including high officials, intellectuals and university professors. (See article, "Fascist Italy's Suppression of Intellectual Freedom," on pages 534-39 of this magazine.) Among them was Professor Belotti, formerly Minister of Industry and Commerce in the Italian Cabinet and a widely known financier. He was accused of carrying on secret propaganda by writing pamphlets

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against the financial policy of the government and was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on one of

the penal islands. Another arrest was that of Professor Ernesto Belloni, former Podesta of Milan, who was given a like sentence. In this case no specific reason was stated for the action. It was made to appear, however, as the result of alleged financial irregularities during his term of office.

Although the existence of anything like a general plot for the overthrow of the government was categorically denied by Fascist authorities, it was admitted that many arrests had been made. Further arrests several weeks later—including that of Mrs. de Bosis, an American and the widow of the poet Adolfo de Bosis—indicated opposition of considerable extent. The opposition has appeared to centre in several places, though its clandestine methods make it difficult to obtain accurate information concerning all its activities. These include an organization called *Giustizia e Libertà* and several affiliated organizations in foreign cities. *Giustizia e Libertà* has its headquarters in Rome and claims a membership of 250,000. It has pub-



THE MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES

lished from time to time a little sheet whose circulation is reported to be over 50,000. M. Curet, a French journalist who visited Italy in September, has been quoted as declaring that it "is making rapid progress and is already known throughout the peninsula, having groups in thirty-four towns." Its aims, according to M. Curet, are "the overthrow of the dictatorship and the monarchy, the peaceful establishment of a democratic government and the frustration of the militaristic plans of Mussolini." An affiliated organization in France called *La Concentration anti-Fasciste Italienne*, has carried on an active propaganda through a regular publication in French issued twice a month under the direction of Filippo Turati, the former Socialist leader. It permits, not to say encourages, free reproduction of its articles which, without restraint, denounce fascism and all its works. A like group functions in the United States, and another in London called Friends of Italian Freedom, the latter publishing a monthly bulletin called *Italy Today*. A further movement of similar import being carried on in Italy is known as the National Alliance. Its purpose has been to unite all the groups opposed to fascism and in favor of a liberal

monarchy. To this end it has distributed throughout the mails, by the use of plain envelopes, thousands of leaflets denouncing the policy of the government. Each recipient has been asked to make six copies and mail them to friends, thus establishing an endless chain.

According to the anti-Fascist Madrid newspaper *La Voz*, the Fascist régime is approaching financial bankruptcy. In support of this assertion the editor quoted figures, said to be drawn from official Italian sources, to show that drafts sent to Italy have been decreasing at an alarming rate, and that tourists are yielding less.

Italy has tried to meet the situation by seeking a foreign loan but has found the world of high finance anything but cordial. This unwillingness of bankers to lend money to Italy has been interpreted in some quarters as an effort to put pressure on Italy to settle her naval quarrel with France. It has also been said to be due to fear lest the loan be used for purposes of war. Italy needs money to make up the deficit of the first four months of the fiscal year 1930 and to meet obligations due on Dec. 31.

An effort to reduce expenses was made by a general cut of 12 per cent in the salaries of all State employees.

This decrease, as announced by the Cabinet Council on Nov. 18, was to include all persons in government service, and was to be applied also to provincial and municipal employes. Further reductions in the case of higher paid officials of as much as 25 or 35 per cent were also reported. As the government service has been over-staffed—according to official statistics there are almost 1,000,000 on the payrolls—this reduction was expected to produce a saving of something like \$68,000,000. But salaries were already pitifully low, and further reductions became a serious matter. In announcing the salary cut the government pointed out that as wages in almost all other lines had already been reduced, it was only fair that government employes should suffer a like reduction. At the same time the government stated its intention to hasten a decrease in rents and retail prices, and substantial reductions were being effected. Later it was announced that the Deputies at the next meeting of the Chamber would lower their own salaries. Meanwhile evidences of the depression were seen in bank failures and in increasing numbers of unemployed and incipient bread riots.

This is the situation as depicted by press dispatches and foreign observers in Italy. An entirely different picture, however, was painted by Romolo Angelone, Italian Commercial Attaché at Washington, in an official statement published on Dec. 14. Although admitting that Italy was feeling the world-wide depression, he asserted that the adverse trade balance had decreased from 5,304,000,000 lire in September, 1929, to 4,130,000,000 in September, 1930. The Italian automobile industry is better off than the American, he added. He denied that Italy is seeking a loan here or in any other market. In spite of the 12 per cent reduction, the general level of Italian salaries is still about four times the pre-war level, he declared. His survey, covering the last eight years, showed a considerable advance

in Italy's financial and industrial situation under the Fascist régime.

SPANISH DISTURBANCES

What looked like a republican revolution and turned out to be a sporadic but ominous military outbreak, which collapsed after two days, agitated Spain on Dec. 12 and 13. The garrison of Jaca, a fortified town in the Pyrenees, revolted and imprisoned its officers. Loyal troops, immediately dispatched northward from Madrid, met the rebels in a mountain pass and routed them, capturing about 100 men. They then marched on Jaca, where the rest of the rebel force laid down their arms and surrendered the town. Two rebel leaders, Captains Galan and Garcia Hernandez, were tried and shot on Dec. 14. Four others implicated were sent to prison for life.

The fact that rigid censorship was immediately imposed by the government made it impossible to estimate how serious the affair really was. But a declaration of martial law throughout Spain on Dec. 15 followed an unsuccessful mutiny in the air force, led by Ramon Franco, who escaped to Portugal by plane.

Nation-wide riots and strikes occurred during November, in which many persons were killed and scores injured. In Barcelona and Madrid, where the worst outbreaks occurred, barricades were raised in the streets, public services suspended and business paralyzed. While there has been general agreement as to the seriousness of the situation, there was wide difference of opinion as to its fundamental cause. In official circles bolshevism and anarchism were blamed. According to the Premier, General Berenguer, the riots in Madrid arose by mere chance and not as a result of an organized plot. Some Anarchists took advantage of the funeral of four workers, killed in the collapse of a house under construction, to make a demonstration. The police, the Premier maintained, in attempting to restore order were wantonly attacked.

Others, however, saw in this protest against the erection of flimsy building construction endangering the lives of workmen, a symbol of a general revolt against the hardships and inequalities under which the working classes have suffered for generations; they saw, in short, an uprising caused by fundamental economic grievances. Others again have put stress on the political character of the disturbances and have maintained that underlying them has been the determination to get rid of the monarchy and to establish a republic. One organization involved in these strikes, the *Sindico Unico*, was claimed in some quarters to have no real connection with either labor or politics, but to be merely trying to amass wealth—nothing more or less than a "racket." Whatever the cause of the riots, the government has tried to minimize the extent of the disorder, at the same time using drastic measures to restore order, realizing that it was dealing with a revolt which might at any moment turn into revolution.

Difficulties have been aggravated by the postponement of the date for the promised elections; it was announced that the necessary prelim-

inary census could not be completed before March 1 at the earliest. Meanwhile efforts were made to bring together the monarchists of liberal tendency, reconstruct the old Conservative party, and finally form a coalition of all monarchistic parties. Thus far such efforts have met with no great success.

Reports continued to come in during early December of strikes, bread riots and of the failure of the olive crop, with thousands starving in Southern Spain.

Dissatisfaction with the handling of the situation led to shifts in the Cabinet. Under the new arrangements the Conservatives outnumbered the Liberals, a situation not without significance in view of the impending elections. In order to remove one source of criticism a decree was announced restoring promotion in the army by seniority, thus taking away an opportunity—said to be much abused—of favoritism.

Reports from Portugal indicated the existence of revolutionary activities, the extent of which was concealed from the world by a rigid censorship.

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

THE most momentous elections in Poland since the country's rebirth were held on Nov. 15 and

22. At the earlier date 444 members of the Sejm, or lower branch of Parliament, were chosen; at the later one, 111 members of the Senate. The question that overshadowed—indeed included—all others was whether the nation would place the stamp of its approval upon the Pilsudski dictatorship by giving it a clear majority in the two houses. For the first time in a long and tempestuous period of domestic politics, it did so. In the Sejm,

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the government's supporters won 249 seats; in the Senate, 75. The triumph in the Sejm was particularly impressive for Pilsudski.

The methods by which the government's huge quotas were rolled up must not be inquired into too closely. Some fifty opposition seats were lost before the polling occurred because the candidates' names were rejected by government-controlled election officials. Most of the Marshal's leading opponents, including eighty-one former opposition Deputies, had thoughtfully been placed where their cam-



Eastern Europe and the Balkans

paign speeches could be made only to the gray walls of prison cells. Numerous newspapers were muzzled or temporarily suppressed. For what they were worth, however, the results were as decisive as the Dictator required; indeed, they came out, almost to a decimal point, according to his plans and specifications.

An analysis of the vote of Nov. 15 is significant in showing that the government swept the eastern provinces with non-Polish and backward populations, and likewise the big towns of Warsaw, Lodz and Lwow, but failed conspicuously in the western provinces and the great agricultural midlands. The results in the towns are accounted for by the longing of the professional and commercial interests for a stable government. Those in the central provinces—which gave all their seats to the Centre Left opposition *bloc*—are explained by the Polish peasant farmer's long radical tradi-

tion and by his sturdy attachment to his party heritage, peasant or Socialist.

Pilsudski's frankly expressed desire for a working majority in a body in which he has been accustomed to defy majorities, and his suddenly acquired taste for constitutionality, may be explained by two facts—first, that a government majority in Parliament could conveniently be saddled with responsibility for the national fortunes, of late resting a little too heavily on the Marshal and his Ministerial puppets, and, second, that an express object of the elections was to manoeuvre Parliament into a position in which the long-impending amendment of the national Constitution could be undertaken. Such amendment, if actually accomplished, will shift the legal forms of the government in the direction of a stronger executive on the lines already achieved in practice under the dictatorship.

The new Parliament met on Dec. 9, faced with a full program of economic and administrative bills which had been held up during the Dictator's prolonged war with the previous assembly. The first two sessions were taken up with the presentation of the budget, and with protests at the arrest during the recent campaign of seven Deputies chosen in the last elections. The new Speaker of the Sejm, in his opening address, pledged himself to cooperation with the government and waived the privilege of parliamentary immunity for Deputies. Meanwhile, on Nov. 28, the Pilsudski Cabinet resigned and, with most of the members retaining their old posts, a new government was made up under the leadership of the Marshal's trusted aide, Colonel Walery Slawek. Resuming his former rôle as directing head of the country behind the scenes, Pilsudski himself went south for a rest, which was expected to last into the Spring.

A further feature of the November elections was the formal protest presented by the German Government to

the League of Nations on Nov. 29, based on alleged mistreatment of German minorities in Upper Silesia in connection with the elections to the Polish Senate and the Provincial Legislature on Nov. 22. According to the charges, German voters in this former German territory were the victims of repeated outbursts of hatred and violence at the hands of Polish legionnaires throughout the course of the campaign; and ten instances of personal assault, destruction of property and other outrages were cited. On their part, the Polish authorities pronounced the reports exaggerated and biased, declared that every precaution to preserve order in the district had been taken, and affirmed that such disturbances as occurred were caused by Germans. After being circulated among all members of the League, the German protest was entered on the agenda of the Council for its regular session in January.

After working three years to straighten out Poland's tangled finances, Charles S. Dewey, American adviser under the stabilization plan of October, 1927, came to the end of his task and returned to the United States in November. The financial condition of Poland is discussed in the article on World Finance on page XXXII.

PRINCE OTTO'S COMING-OF-AGE

Under old Habsburg family law, an heir to the throne attained his majority, and with it the right to rule in his own name, at the age of 18. The approach of Prince Otto's eighteenth birthday, on Nov. 20, became the signal for sensational reports centring about alleged plots to place the student Prince on the Hungarian throne.

The day came and went without anything more untoward than a rather pathetic family gathering in the ancient château at Steenockerzeel, Belgium, where Empress Zita and her family live. All dressed in black and wearing no decorations, they went through a ceremony marked by traditional Habsburg procedure. The

young man was proclaimed by his chamberlain to be of age, entitled to all the prerogatives of a sovereign, and was invested by his mother with the "rights" which she has enjoyed as Regent. In a simple address, he announced that he would seek to bring about no changes in the existing régimes of Austria and Hungary if by so doing the peace of Europe would be endangered. Meanwhile, at Budapest, the Regent, Admiral Horthy, forbade flags to be displayed on public buildings; and though ceremonies were held by the Legitimists, and cheers for "Otto II, King of Hungary," were heard in the streets, the general public seemed apathetic.

To a correspondent of *The New York Times* Premier Bethlen, on Nov. 16, gave the first precise formulation of Hungary's aims in the ever more imminent revision of the peace treaties. "She wants," he declared, "first, restoration of all her lost citizens of Hungarian nationality, and, second, a plebescite among her former citizens of other nationalities to determine whether they should come back to her or not." In response to questioning, the Premier further declared that, contrary to persistent reports in France and other countries, his recent visit to Angora and his forthcoming trip to Berlin had in view no such purpose as the formation of a revisionist bloc. Before the foreign affairs committee of Parliament, meeting on Nov. 19, representatives of all political parties, including the Socialists, expressed satisfaction with the stand that the Premier had taken.

PARLIAMENTARY SESSION IN RUMANIA

At the request of King Carol, Liberal and other opposition groups, which for a full year have not participated in Parliamentary sittings at Bucharest, made their appearance on the benches when a new session opened on Nov. 15. In his speech from the throne, the sovereign stressed the point that cooperation of all parties

was the only means by which the country could be carried successfully through the present economic crisis. Other features of the speech included a strong appeal for a scheme of army expansion and a warm endorsement of the treaties with Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the latter putting at rest reports that, as a result of Italian influence, Rumania was wavering in her loyalty to her partners in the Little Entente.

All hope of a reconciliation between King Carol and Queen Helen has been abandoned, and their divorce will be allowed to stand. It was reported that she and Dowager Queen Marie, now without influence at the court, would make a somewhat extended sojourn in Paris.

Late in November the Rumanian Government gave orders that a stricter watch be kept along the River Dniester, which divides Bessarabia from Russia. The precautions were taken apparently to hinder the influx of Russian refugees. As a result, it is understood, of requisitions made by the Soviets from Ukrainian farmers, there have been repeated clashes between the farmers and Red troops.

Serious anti-Semitic disorders took place on Dec. 1 at Galatz, Rumania, where 400 members of the Christian Students Congress, meeting in Braila, arrived by steamer. Before re-embarking for Braila, they marched through the town beating with sticks all Jews encountered on the streets. The police intervened and made numerous arrests.

ELECTIONS IN BULGARIA

Defeat of government coalition candidates by opposition coalition candidates in more than 50 per cent of the local elections held on Nov. 9 was construed by opposition leaders as definitely presaging a decisive reverse for the government in the Parliamentary elections due to be held, at the latest, next Spring. In such an event, the Right coalition that has ruled Bulgaria since 1923 would at

last lose its grip. Opposition spokesmen, such as George Markoff, leader of the Agrarians (the largest element in the opposition combination), and George Volkoff, publisher of *Pladne*, the Agrarian party organ, are, however, predicting that, rather than court disaster, the government, when Spring arrives, will simply call no Parliamentary election, thereby converting the present "virtual dictatorship masquerading behind a Parliamentary façade" into an open military one.

In point of fact, it is not clear that the government will run any serious risk of losing the general election if held. Bulgarian (like other Balkan) electors show a decided tendency to vote for whatever party happens to be in power; and the Bulgarian Government (like other Balkan Governments) is unfailingly adept at intimidating its opponents into staying away from the polls. King Ferdinand, in his day, somewhat mitigated the effect of the people's sheep-like voting by arbitrarily dismissing a Ministry when he thought that it had held office long enough, and calling on an opposition party to form a government. King Boris, however, has not done this; whether or not because of his amiable disposition, as the opposition leaders feel, he has permitted the present Conservative coalition to remain in power ever since it overthrew the radical Stambulisky Cabinet more than seven years ago.

ALBANIAN SCHOOLS

The opening, in November, of a farm and trade school at Kavaya called attention to a large project for improving educational conditions, to be carried out by the government with the aid of the Near East Foundation, successor to Near East Relief. The program is described as an experiment in training youth for rural life, and in the school recently opened the pupils live in two model villages built according to plans drafted by an American expert, Dr. Luther C. Fry.

The first legation built by the United States Government under terms of the Porter act was dedicated

in Tirana on Nov. 27. The event was signalized by King Zog's first visit to any legation.

NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

THE Norwegian nation on Nov. 25 celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the coming

of Prince Karl of Denmark to reign over them as Haakon VII. When Norway began her independent existence in 1905 the problems confronting the new kingdom were many. Toward their solution King Haakon VII has made many important contributions. His reign has been marked by the solution of problems of statecraft and industrial development that have brought out qualities of foresight and sound judgment with which he perhaps was not credited when he ascended the throne. When Norway declared her independence under conditions that left no alternative, there was for a time danger of war with Sweden. "Troops," wrote Gathorne Hardy, "were everywhere mobilized, and only the quiet dignity and self-possession with which the Norwegians carried their point and presented it to the other nations of Europe enabled peace to be maintained."

The new kingdom was less than a decade old when the World War broke out. Under the leadership of Niels Ihlen, the Minister of Foreign Affairs during the trying years of the war, Norway was able to stay out of the struggle, despite the heavy losses which a policy of neutrality entailed. The war destroyed some 1,250,000 tons of Norwegian shipping and a good many lives were lost. In common with Norway's neighbors the people lived on rations during a considerable part of the conflict. It was in these circumstances that the Scandinavian kings met in Christiania—now known by the more national name

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Oslo—to listen to King Gustaf of Sweden sound a note of defiance: "Each of our nations is small

in itself, but together we constitute a force which must be reckoned with when it is a question of safeguarding the maintenance of our independence and of our right freely to dispose of our destinies."

The growth of Norway's prestige abroad has rested more upon victories in the realm of the intellect than in the field of material advance. Amundsen, the two Svedrups, Riiser-Larsen, Nansen—to cite but a few—are names that add much to Norway's renown. Norway's contribution in the world of letters and art was of a kind and magnitude that constituted no mean heritage with which the kingdom could begin its existence. Long before 1905 Bjornson, Ibsen, Grieg and others had won a place for Norway, and Hamsun, Sigrid Undset and others have gained new renown for their country.

Frank B. Kellogg, former United States Secretary of State, received the Nobel Peace Prize for 1929 at Oslo on Dec. 10 in the presence of King Haakon and Crown Prince Olav. At the same ceremony the Nobel Peace Prize for 1930 was presented to Dr. Nathan Soederblom, Archbishop of Upsala, and on the same day Sinclair Lewis received the Nobel Prize for literature in Stockholm from King Gustav in the presence of the government and the diplomatic corps.

The friendly relations between Sweden and Norway were greatly strengthened by the award of the Nobel Peace Prize for 1930 to Dr. Nathan Soederblom, Archbishop of Sweden, member of the Swedish Acad-



NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

emy and Pro-Chancellor of the Upsala University. He received the prize for his efforts to bring about unity among the churches of the world in the cause of peace. His major accomplishment in this field was undoubtedly the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work which he organized in Stockholm in the Summer of 1925. Every denomination in the world, with the exception of the Roman Catholic Church, was represented; altogether about 1,000 church dignitaries from nearly forty countries attended. The work begun at this conference is being carried on by a permanent body which meets regularly.

PROHIBITION IN FINLAND

Finland's prohibition problem for some time has appeared to be approaching a new stage which may lead to some modification of the present law. On Oct. 31 the Association for Temperance Without Total Prohibition in presenting proposed changes to the government stressed the losses in State revenue because of the apparently extensive illegal trade and the harmfulness and inadequacy of

the existing law. Acting presumably on this suggestion, the government presented a bill in the National Legislature on Nov. 19, which proposed, in substance, that the legal limit of alcoholic content in beverages be raised to 3.1 per cent. This would permit the manufacture and sale of beer, while the present law has allowed for the manufacture of near-beer only. The bill was discussed in Parliament on Nov. 23. A few days after the introduction of the bill the Economy Committee of Parliament rejected two bills, both of which were designed to make a breach in the wall of prohibition. One of them would have legalized the manufacture of wines from domestic berries. It was rejected by a vote of 14 to 4. The second was the government bill mentioned, which met with an adverse vote of 14 to 3. Since the Social Democrats and most of the Agrarians—not to mention a strong prohibitionist element in the Union party group—are opposed to modification, the government initiative faces great difficulties.

The general prohibition situation is partly disclosed by the record of violations during the month of October, 1930. The following figures give convictions by lower courts; those within parentheses give the record for the same month in 1929. Illegal manufacture, 136 (117); sale, 465 (388); import, 162 (123); transportation, 289 (222); storage, 403 (333); other violations, 5 (5). The total of convictions for this category of infractions was 1,483, while the corresponding figure for 1929 was 1,276.

SUPPRESSION OF COMMUNISM IN FINLAND

The anti-Communist movement made an important gain on Nov. 11, when the National Legislature passed bills which had failed in the previous Parliament. One of them prevents Communists from becoming members of Parliament or from being nominated as candidates. Another empowers the President, in case of a grave

political emergency, to take extraordinary measures for safeguarding law and order. At least indirectly related to these bills was one relating to certain changes in the criminal code. In each case the voting disclosed a clear-cut division between the Social Democrats and the non-Socialists. The action of Parliament constituted a vote of confidence for the present government, for the Legislature was informed by Premier Svinhufvud before the voting began that a negative result would force the Cabinet to resign. Thus the laws which both the Cabinet and the supporters of the Lapua movement have considered essential for the eradication of treasonable Communist activity have been placed on the statute books, and the conflict which brought about the dissolution of the last Parliament and the elections in October has been brought to an end.

SWEDISH NATIONAL DEFENSE

The question of national defense, which has occupied Swedish public opinion and statesmen for some time, was brought a step closer to solution on Oct. 23. The government decided to appoint a commission to conduct a thorough survey of the Swedish defense problem in all its phases. This committee is headed by Per Albin Hansson, leader of the Social Democrats and a former Minister of National Defense. The other members include one representative each of the naval, land and air forces and nine members of the National Parliament, among them Minister of Finance Hamrin and Ex-Minister of Communications Borell.

It was reported on Nov. 8 that Premier Carl Gustaf Ekman in his instructions to the committee expressed the hope that means would be found to scale down the national defense budget to the level suggested by the special committee whose recommendations were accepted, in the main, by the Riksdag in 1925. The total annual

outlay contemplated at that time was \$25,390,000. However, during the period since 1925 the actual defense budget has varied roughly from \$30,000,000 to \$33,750,000. The contemplated reduction thus approximates \$6,250,000.

The Conservative members of the committee favor higher appropriations for national defenses, while the Socialists are resolutely opposed to any suggestion that the defense budget be increased. The majority of the Social Democrats are either undecided on the matter of isolated disarmament or are opposed to it. The Liberal contingent probably will follow a middle course. The fact that all the political parties are markedly pro-League, although the Conservatives assume a cautious attitude, may have no small effect upon the conclusions which the committee will ultimately present. It is worth noting that Prince Charles, head of the Swedish Red Cross, refused on Nov. 11 to affix his name to a petition for immediate disarmament on the grounds that all nations have not yet signed the Kellogg pact, nor have the signatories surrendered the right to defend themselves.

The steady growth that has characterized the Swedish Federation of Labor since the World War was accelerated in 1930, according to a report issued by the Amsterdam headquarters of the International Federation of Trade Unions. From Jan. 1, 1930, the membership increased 32,000, bringing the total up to slightly more than 540,000 members. On Jan. 1, 1930, the assets of the central organization amounted to about \$1,803,935, while the property of the unions affiliated with it was worth about \$11,500,000.

SOCIAL REFORM IN DENMARK

That the present government of Denmark contemplates a notable extension of the social legislation of the

country was definitely shown on Oct. 28 when the Minister for Social Affairs presented in the Folkting a proposal for a general social reform law. The proposal consisted of four separate bills—one providing for national insurance, another dealing with labor exchanges and unemployment insurance, a third covering accident insurance and a fourth concerning care of the needy. The contemplated laws will cancel or replace no fewer than fifty-five enactments now in force. On Nov. 6 the Minister of Justice presented a proposal for the reform of certain aspects of the administration of justice.

The well-known Danish explorer, Peter Freuchen, in a lengthy article in the *Politiken* on Nov. 18 advocated the establishment of free ports on the coast of West Greenland. He suggest-

ed as a likely place the excellent natural harbor of Nepisat, just below the Arctic Circle, near Holstensborg. Mr. Freuchen recalled that, while Danish and Faroese fishermen in Greenland waters are allowed to touch at Faeringerhaven Harbor, other nationalities are not allowed ashore. Appealing to Denmark's honor as a seafaring nation, he asserted that it was hardly worthy of Denmark, which possessed a long Greenland coast with quiet fjords and good harbors, not to permit foreign sailors to land for fuel and water. He proposed not only a coaling and watering base but a shop where fishermen can buy salt, oil, tobacco and clothing and receive medical attention, and would have the free port supervised by the Danish Naval Department.

THE SOVIET UNION

THE treason trial in Moscow, which aroused world-wide excitement during November, ended, on Dec. 7, with the passing of the

death sentence on five of the accused men and of ten years' imprisonment on the three others. These sentences were the next day changed to ten years' imprisonment for the five who had been condemned to death, and eight years for the other three. The chief reason for this clemency, not totally unexpected outside Russia, was stated by the Soviet Government as being the free confessions of the accused.

The sensational interest of the trial centred so wholly in its international implications that the world at large is in danger of missing the real significance of the event. The eight men who were brought to trial were arrested originally on charges of sabotage directed against the domestic program of the Soviet Government. They were men of importance holding posi-

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tions of responsibility in the governmental system. Professor L. K. Ramsin, who has since become known as their

leader, was in the confidence of the highest officials and served as technical adviser to the industrial program. Professor N. F. Charnofsky was president of the Scientific-Technical Institute of the Supreme Economic Council. V. A. Larichet was president of the fuel division of the State Planning Commission and I. A. Kalinnikov was vice president of its production division. Professor A. S. Fedotof, K. V. Ditnin and the others were men of equal prominence. When the arrests were made some time ago there was no great stir over the matter, despite the gravity of all the charges. The country and the world at large became mildly interested when it was made known that all but two of the accused—who subsequently admitted their guilt—had confessed to counter-revolutionary activities. But with the elaborate preparations made to stage

the trial in a dramatic fashion, it became apparent that something unexpected was about to happen, and Professor Ramsin's long confession of guilt, which was broadcast from the court, found the ground prepared for a first-class international sensation.

Professor Ramsin's statement and the subsequent confessions of his fellow-prisoners set forth in much detail the attempts of the group to undermine the five-year program. They were, they said, convinced that the program was destined to fail, and that the present Soviet régime would collapse in consequence. In this light they explained their purposes as attempts to hasten the inevitable failure of a policy with which they were never in sympathy and, at the same time, to insure the future of their own careers under the new régime. The crimes which they confessed included injuries to machinery, mismanagement of the mining industry, disorganization of the food supply, and many other specific offenses, in addition to a general attempt to mislead and confuse the State Planning Commission whose activities are pivotal to the whole economic program of the government. There appears to be no reason to doubt the truth of these statements in so far as they deal with the domestic phases of the plot. There is abundant evidence from other sources that the crimes mentioned were being committed and that these men were concerned in them.

In respect of the international phases of the plot the confessions were equally explicit but not equally convincing. Various treasonable acts of minor importance, such as the taking of secret commissions on government concessions to foreign interests and the sale of military secrets to foreign governments, were mentioned with every appearance of truth and candor. But the essence of the alleged conspiracy consisted in much graver matters than these. Professor Ramsin and his colleagues described a plot for the invasion of Russia in the early

Summer of 1931 by Rumania and Poland with the material and advisory assistance of France and the support of the British fleet. Their part in the conspiracy was to foment civil war in Russia to coincide with these external attacks. The collaborators in France were said to include not only various organizations of Russian émigrés but some of the highest personages in France, Poincaré and Briand being mentioned by name, as were certain officers of the French General Staff. Unspecified officials of Great Britain were said to be implicated, along with numerous mysterious representatives of these and other countries known only by symbol. Professor Ramsin consumed seven hours in the elaboration of his testimony, and his fellow-conspirators were only slightly less detailed in their statements. Toward the end of the trial, in response to a storm of protest from France and Great Britain, some attempt was made to preserve secrecy with regard to the more sensational charges against foreign governments. But the accused, the witnesses and the officers of the court remained to the end unshaken in their assertion of the truth of the charges, which is accepted without question by the masses of the Russian people.

The whole affair was promptly denounced as a fraud by the press of Great Britain and of France and by the individuals named in the charges, while the governments concerned entered protests. The confessions were dismissed as lies induced by torture. France had made official remonstrance before the trial in a communiqué presented to the Soviet Government on Nov. 15 protesting against the publication of a document which foreshadowed the revelations of the trial. There now arose from numerous party groups demands that the French Government instantly sever diplomatic relations with Russia. Foreign Secretary Arthur Henderson informed the House of Commons on Dec. 1 that Great Britain

had protested against the statements made in the trial "which appear to reflect adversely and without reason on his Majesty's Government." In Great Britain, too, the movement for a complete break with the Soviet Union gained immense stimulus from the general belief that these statements were inspired by the Kremlin with malicious intent.

Until more information is available it is fruitless to attempt an appraisal of the degrees of truth and falsehood in these charges against foreign governments. The testimony was submitted to exhaustive analysis by French experts and many flaws were discovered in its details. The assertions of innocence by M. Poincaré, M. Briand and other individuals in high places reflected the confidence of men who are sure of their ground, who have no fear of being caught in a tangle of falsehood. On the other side, the Russian Government was equally confident in accepting the truth of the confessions, and promised to produce further and irrefutable proof. The accused were given the opportunity to retract but, although aware that they were swearing away their lives, they ridiculed the French and British protests and solemnly reiterated their confessions of conspiracy with these countries. Their statements did acquire support from the fact that the Russian Emigré Trade and Industrial Union, one of the associations in France accused of complicity in the plot, was the power behind the Wrangel invasion ten years ago and succeeded at that time in persuading France to recognize the Wrangel Government on the very eve of its collapse. It is well known that this organization has continued to work for the overthrow of the Soviet régime, and that it has the support of powerful business interests in France. Aside from the material benefits which would accrue from a destruction of Communist control in Russia, such an event is so obviously in line with her political strategy in Europe that it is

natural to assume that France must take a benevolent attitude toward any movement which promises to bring it to pass. These considerations, however, are little more than surmise. The student of Russian affairs would like to know definitely to what extent, if at all, Poland, Rumania, France and Great Britain have been seeking deliberately to precipitate war in Europe by aggressive acts against Russia.

While intending in no way to beg this question, it should be pointed out that conditions within the Soviet Union bear a significant relation to the drama of the treason trial, so much so, indeed, that it is unnecessary to drag in international complications to give meaning to the event. It has become known that serious friction within the Communist Party had raised a formidable threat to the Stalin leadership and to the five-year program. A group, led by Sertsov, president of the Council of Commissars of the Russian Republic, and Lominadze, secretary of the Georgian Communist Party, had formed a bloc which attempted to merge the remnants of the Trotsky faction with the Right Opposition, identified with the Rykov-Bukharin-Tomski triumvirate. The program demanded a confession of the failure of the five-year plan and an immediate reduction of the burden it placed on the country, a repudiation of the Stalin leadership because of its dictatorial attitude toward the Russian masses, and a complete overhauling of the bureaucracy of the government. The movement came to a head in September and early October, at which time rumors trickled through to the foreign press describing civil rebellion in Russia, revolt of the Red Army, attempts on Stalin's life and similar events. As usual the rumors were grossly exaggerated; but the situation was serious enough even from a conservative estimate of the facts. Sertsov and Lominadze were influential men in their own right and members of Stalin's immediate circle of young lieutenants.

They had the support not only of the old dissidents like Rykov and Bukharin but of an impressive number of younger placeholders in the party; and their program appealed to large sections of the people disposed to rebel against the intolerable strain of the five-year plan.

As soon as he became aware of the situation, Stalin asserted his authority ruthlessly. Some of the ringleaders had placed themselves in jeopardy by holding secret meetings in defiance of party orders, the same mortal offense against Communist discipline which caused the downfall of Trotsky. These men were arrested as traitors, among them, according to reports, General Bluecher, who defeated the Chinese in Manchuria; Sergov Andrejevev, a member of the Supreme War Council; Antipov, Commisar of Posts and Telegraphs, and Ordjonikidze, Stalin's intimate friend. Rykov, Premier of the union, was driven temporarily from his office.

Behind this strife within the party is the general uneasiness over the industrial program of Russia. (Articles on the five-year plan appear on pages 481 and 486 of this magazine.) The evidence does not justify the conclusion, so frequently expressed in France and Great Britain, that the whole program is on the verge of collapse. Indeed, there is every reason to believe that in many departments, and especially in agriculture, the progress is well ahead of the five-year plan. It is true, nevertheless, that there have been some serious failures. The transportation system is not functioning satisfactorily. The food supply in the cities has been precarious. Certain of the new large-scale industries, notably the gigantic agricultural implements factories, which have been featured in the government's propaganda, are in a state of confusion owing to the incapacity of Russian labor and management. The morale of the people,

strained to the breaking point by the burden of the industrial revolution, has been severely tried by the disclosures of these failures, and has shown the effect in a progressive decline of labor discipline. Hesitation among the leaders or disaffection within the party would be fatal at this juncture. Any device to revive the flagging spirits of the people and arouse their devotion to the country and its government would prove an invaluable aid to the program.

In this setting the tactics of the Kremlin, in its staging of the treason trial, is easy enough to understand. The whole affair is calculated to create a war psychology within the nation, to furnish scapegoats for the critics of the administration, to create the bogey of a foreign enemy lying in wait to dismember the fatherland. In the excitement ruthless suppression of Stalin's opponents within the party becomes practical politics. A new flexibility of policy with regard to the five-year plan becomes possible; for, whether the leaders reaffirm their commitment to the present line of policy or call for a modification of the objectives, their position can be explained as an adjustment to a war condition, and it will acquire the sanction of patriotism. Incidentally, the international reaction to the testimony will not disturb but probably strengthen the new diplomatic strategy of the Soviet Union, namely, her rapprochement with Germany and Italy.

Regardless of the degree of truth in the charges against foreign governments, this is the real significance of the treason trial. It discloses to the world the seriousness of the situation in Russia, both as regards the unity of the Communist party and the progress of the government's program. Its outcome has been to strengthen the position of Stalin and of the faction of which he is leader.

THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

MUSTAPHA
KEMAL
PASHA at the
opening of the Grand
National Assembly on

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Nov. 1 reviewed the chief events in Turkey during the past twelve months. Besides the statements previously reported, he discussed the measures taken by the government toward stabilizing Turkish money. He declared that the present economic crisis originated outside Turkey, but that Turkey as an agricultural State suffers excessively. The system of taxation is being modified, the proposed State Bank should be of great assistance to the government, and railway building is continuing.

On Nov. 15 Ali Fethi Bey, leader of the Liberal Republicans, vigorously attacked Ismet Pasha's government before a crowded session of the Assembly. He claimed that the authorities had used many unlawful methods in order to win the elections, and affirmed that in the town of Adana, where previously only a percentage of the voters had been accustomed to come to the polls and where 4,652 names were registered, 4,730 were reported to have voted. Fethi Bey then presented a demand that the municipal elections be canceled and held again. He also moved a vote of censure upon Ismet Pasha's government.

Chukri Kaya Bey, Minister of the Interior, replied immediately in defense of the government. He denied all charges and accused the Liberals themselves of wrongdoing. Fethi Bey's proposal of a vote of censure was defeated by 214 to 10 votes. Immediately after their defeat, the Liberal Republicans voted to dissolve their party, which had existed for only three months. In a public statement Fethi Bey announced that in creating the party he had expected the assistance and approval of the President, but he

now saw that to continue its existence would certainly lead to a conflict with President Mustapha Kemal

which he did not care to precipitate.

At the end of November it was announced that the Popular party would henceforth be divided into three groups, Left, Middle and Right. This appears to be a consequence of Fethi Bey's work, and to promise a somewhat healthier political life for Turkey in the future.

Mustapha Kemal is believed to favor strongly the increase of good relations among Turkey, Greece and Bulgaria. Some discussion has pointed to the possibility of a triple entente. It has also been rumored that Turkey may apply for admission to the League of Nations and that then the Turks, Greeks and Bulgarians might ask for a seat on the League Council, which they will occupy in turn. Of a more definite nature is a naval agreement between Turkey and Greece, in which both undertake not to construct warships without consulting each other six months in advance.

Announcement was made at Istanbul on Dec. 2 by Husrev Bey, Turkish Ambassador to Persia, that Persia had agreed in principle to exchanging the Persian territory at Mount Ararat for a piece of Turkish territory further south. A frontier commission is now at work, and it is hoped shortly to make secure and reopen an old road between Turkey and Persia near Mount Ararat.

The Turkish Government was reported to have notified the Council of the Ottoman debt in Paris that present financial conditions in Turkey permitted the payment of only one-third of the sum of \$4,500,000 due on Nov. 25.

An Anglo-Turkish arbitration court heard on Nov. 22 at Istanbul the open-



THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

ing of the case of the heirs of Abdul Hamid II against the British Government for the restoration of properties in Iraq, Cyprus, Egypt and Palestine, valued at about \$60,000,000. The British defense claimed that the Young Turk party in 1908 and 1909 transferred these lands to the civil list of the Ottoman Empire. The properties could be restored only if they had been the subject of war measures, which was not the case. Furthermore, the heirs of Abdul Hamid were deprived of Turkish citizenship in 1924. The Turkish attorney claimed that the edicts of 1908 and 1909 had never been enforced and had been annulled in 1920. The fact that the properties were referred to in the Treaty of Lausanne proved that they were the subject of war measures. Only the sons and daughters of Abdul Hamid had been denied Turkish nationality. The ex-Caliph Abdul Mejid is said to claim that these properties should not be confirmed to the descendants of Abdul Hamid II, but to all the members of the House of Osman.

The Turkish crops for 1930 showed considerable increase in quantity over previous lean years, but the reduction of prices is such as practically to cancel the advantages. Crops that have increased noticeably are grains, nuts, olives, tobacco and opium. There has

been some decline in cotton, raisins, figs, valonia and silk.

THE NEXT EGYPTIAN ELECTIONS

It was announced late in November that Parliamentary elections will probably be held late in February or early in March. The Wafd and Liberal Constitutional parties have both resolved to boycott the elections on the ground that Sidky Pasha's Ministry "has imposed a Constitution on the people by force of arms and promulgated it by royal decree." The leaders, Nahas Pasha and Mohammed Mahmud Pasha, conferred and were expected to issue a joint declaration. The month of November was marked by a number of small riots, chiefly started by students. Police and troops prevented demonstrations on Nov. 10 when Mme. Zaghlul Pasha, wife of the late Wafd leader, returned from Europe, and also on Nov. 13, when the Wafdists desired to observe the twelfth anniversary of their demand for the independence of Egypt.

Prime Minister Sidky Pasha proceeded to organize a People's party. He found a constituency among wealthy citizens and discontented members of the Liberal Constitutionalists, but mainly among the politicians now in power. His platform was announced as follows:

First, Egypt's complete independence and the maintenance of sovereignty over the Sudan; second, an agreement with the British Government on points reserved, and the carrying out of that agreement in a way which will guarantee amicable relations between the two countries; third, abolition of the capitulations, the maintenance of amity between natives and foreigners, and the strengthening of friendly relations which will help continue mutual confidence between Egypt and the other powers; fourth, the admission of Egypt to the League of Nations; fifth, support of the constitutional régime; sixth, complete autonomy for the judiciary; seventh, improvement of the living conditions of the country in all phases of life.

Both the sympathizers and the opponents of the Wafd party have shown themselves puzzled by the apparent apathy of the Egyptian population toward the constitutional situation. Eighty per cent or more have voted in the past for Wafd candidates, but they show no signs of revolt against the government's tinkering with the Constitution.

A new contract for heightening the dam at Assuan was awarded on Nov. 30 to Popham, Jones & Laiton of London for \$10,500,000. It will be remembered that this work was begun a year ago by the Sir John Norton-Griffiths Company, but that the company failed in September, 1930. A Cabinet decision limited expenditures on new public works to \$25,000,000, which will be distributed among different departments. Other reductions have been made, in order to relieve the serious economic situation.

Welfare centres and night schools for working youths were inaugurated at Cairo and Alexandria on Nov. 26 by the American Near East Foundation. King Fuad sent a message in which he referred to the fact that these new centres are principally for youths who were made homeless by the World War and its consequences.

BRITISH POLICY IN PALESTINE

The controversy over the Simpson report and the British White Paper on Palestine continued actively

throughout November. Lord Passfield, Colonial Secretary, on Nov. 5 issued in the *London Times* a defense of his policy, an unusual move for a British official of his rank. He insisted in general that the new documents were in no way inconsistent with the Balfour Declaration and the mandate, and denied that anything was said forbidding Jews in the future to settle on unoccupied land. Furthermore, he asserted that the White Paper did not order the Jewish Agency to refrain from employing Jewish labor. In regard to Jewish immigration, he said: "The intention of the White Paper, which I should have thought was clear, was to make the possibility of the suspension of Jewish immigration contingent upon unemployment on such a scale as would have a serious effect in preventing the Arab population from obtaining the work necessary for its maintenance. * * * It is not intended or indeed suggested that such State or other land in Palestine as may be made available by settlement or irrigation or otherwise shall be reserved exclusively for Arabs." Nor was there any implication of stopping any one of the nine official categories of Jewish immigrants. The only one of these categories mentioned related to the so-called "labor schedule," which was being settled for the coming half-year, as usual, according to the "absorptive capacity" in the country, taking into account existing unemployment and giving full credit for prospective vacancies due to enlarging enterprise. Two days later announcement was made that the government had approved 1,500 permits for Jewish immigrants to Palestine. Extreme Zionists considered this concession insufficient.

In the House of Commons on Nov. 17 David Lloyd George vigorously attacked the White Paper and Premier MacDonald defended it. No vote was taken at the conclusion of the debate. Mr. Lloyd George complained because neither the League of Nations, the Mandates Commission of the League,

he nor Stanley Baldwin had been consulted. He affirmed that the Balfour Declaration had been truly national as backed by the three British political parties; it had received the sanction of the great allied powers and of President Wilson. Later the words of the mandate were settled by all the allied powers agreeing that there should be a national home for Jews in Palestine. "Yet," he added, "the present government's White Paper is almost universally regarded as a practical revocation of that mandate. Just as Jews regret it the Arabs rejoice." He referred to the severe criticisms of the Mandate Commission upon the British administration and claimed that the story of land shortage was a myth. The government blamed not world conditions but the Jews for causing unemployment. "If the government cannot discharge the mandate, it should surrender it to the League, but that would be throwing away a chance to show the whole world that the British race is still capable of governing."

The first reply on the part of the government was made by Dr. Drummond Shiels, Under-Secretary for the Colonies. He said that the mandate was so badly drafted by Mr. Lloyd George and other present critics that both the Jews and the Arabs thought their own interest should be supreme. He affirmed that the government intended only to follow and elaborate the interpretation of Winston Churchill in 1922 and would stand by the mandate. He announced that the government would guarantee and for the first year pay the interest and the sinking fund charges on a loan of \$12,500,000 for the development of works in Palestine and to provide land for 10,000 families. Landless Arabs were to have first claim, after which that the land would be open to both races. Former Colonial Secretary Amery accused the government of tactlessness and of arousing racial antagonisms afresh.

Premier MacDonald declared that

the mistakes of past governments showed that the present government must maintain order in order to operate the mandate firmly. He stated that the Jewish National Home could best be promoted by economic co-operation with the Arabs. He referred to the fact that with Eastern peoples all their life was a unity and its foundation religious conviction. Conditions had rendered necessary "a pull-up in the rapidity of development." This was in no sense an abandonment of the mandate or a change in British policy. "I would like to go the length even of saying that the aspects are of equal weight, but the government will carry out the mandate in both its aspects, and bend every energy to enable the development of Palestine to be continued under conditions which will make harmony between Jew and Arab closer and closer, so that the Arab may continue to enjoy the benefits he has already got from Jewish immigration and Jewish capital, and the Jew, the devoted Zionist, may see Palestine becoming a more and more complete embodiment of his ideal of a national home."

Sir Herbert Samuel differed from the government's point of view, claiming that Palestine could soon support 2,000,000 or 3,000,000 people, and that a policy of exclusion would be "at once idiotic and intolerable." At the conclusion of the debate Dr. Shiels, in reply to a question, said: "The White Paper, as explained and simplified today, stands."

The debate was regarded by Palestinian Jews with displeasure, while the Arabs expressed relief, since they had feared that the government would modify its position in some important respect. Two days later the National Council of Palestine Jews adopted a resolution in which they declared that the policy of the White Paper "is a breach of the obligations undertaken for the Jewish people, insults our honor, and attempts to frustrate our work in this country. We reaffirm that we have no confidence in a gov-

ernment with this White Paper as the basis of its policy."

Arab leaders in Palestine are said to have declared that they would accept the British offer to participate in elections or a legislative council. This falls far short of the resolutions of the Seventh Arab Congress of 1928, which demanded complete independence, the abandonment of the Balfour Declaration and the immediate establishment of an Arab government. They intend to "continue to struggle for obtaining full independence and a United States of Arab countries."

The Jewish Agency submitted to the British Government on Nov. 8 a lengthy memorandum in which it was claimed that the White Paper misinterpreted and misrepresented the mandate, gave a false impression of the Simon report, and modified the White Paper of 1922 to the disadvantage of the Jews. Much of the document defended the Jewish Agency and the Jewish National Fund against criticisms embodied in the White Paper. That paper is said to accuse Zionists of forcing Arabs to become landless, without positive production of evidence. The White Paper should not have presented the General Federation of Jewish Labor in a "vaguely sinister light." The memorandum questioned the statement that there exists a considerable degree of Arab unemployment as well as the implication that this unemployment is largely due to excessive Jewish immigration. The tone and temper of the White Paper was affirmed to do nothing toward encouraging the high degree of cooperation between the government and the leaders of the Arab and Jewish communities, which it urged and which the Jewish Agency desires.

The Jews of Palestine prepared in November and early December for elections to the Jewish Assembly. The Revisionist group, in a conference at Tel Aviv, resolved to withdraw from the World Zionist organization unless the Zionist Congress of February,

1931, declares that Zionism looks forward to a Jewish Commonwealth.

Lord Passfield, defending the White Paper before the House of Lords on Dec. 3, stated that the government would not prohibit the purchase of land by Jews in Palestine or prevent the exclusive employment of Jewish labor on land held as the inalienable property of the Jewish people.

In view of all these developments many Zionists have come to feel that the British Government has actually modified its policy as a result of the protests against the White Paper.

The Palestinian Government announced on Nov. 17 that the government had appropriated a sum not exceeding \$175,000 for immediate distribution in loans to farmers of not more than \$75 in any case, to be repaid in two instalments, in August, 1931, and August, 1932. This would assist 2,000 or more farmers who are suffering from bad harvest, low prices of wheat and the plague of field mice. The plan was criticized by some as inadequate and as asking too rapid repayment.

The American members of the Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency established a Provisional Committee in behalf of their group, consisting of Dr. Cyrus Adler, chairman, Bernard Flexner, Morris Rothenberg and Robert Szold. Its purpose is to take care of the temporary difficulty caused by the resignation of Felix M. Warburg as chairman of the Administrative Committee.

Building operations in Palestine during 1929 amounted to \$8,500,000, the largest since the \$10,000,000 expended in 1925.

IRAQ RATIFIES TREATY WITH BRITAIN

The Parliament of Iraq, meeting in special session on Nov. 16, ratified the Anglo-Iraqi treaty. The Chamber of Deputies approved by 69 to 13 votes and the Senate by 11 to 5 votes. By the provisions of the treaty, which is to run for twenty-five years, Great Britain agrees to recognize the inde-

pendence of Iraq within five years and to withdraw British troops. Great Britain also will recommend to the League of Nations that Iraq be admitted in 1932. Iraq is to lease three new air bases to the British, which will be guarded by troops of Iraq paid by Great Britain. The Iraq army is to be trained by a British military commission and will use British equipment. Great Britain will appoint an Ambassador to Iraq, who will have precedence over the diplomatic representatives of all other nations.

The use of motor vehicles in Syria has increased rapidly. At the end of 1929, 6,512 automobiles and 1,132 trucks were in use. During 1929, 7,834

persons motored across the desert from Damascus to Bagdad and 7,393 from Bagdad to Damascus. Much use was made also of the route between Aleppo and Mosul. Principal roads have been asphalted or are in process of such treatment.

The cereal crops in Syria were unprecedentedly large, but under present world conditions much is unsalable. Olives and tobacco also are for the time superabundant. The government has made matters difficult for many persons by fixing taxes at gold valuations. The average farmer pays about thirty per cent of his income in tithes. Land in the Oasis at Damascus has in some cases decreased as much as 60 per cent in value during recent years.

THE FAR EAST

THE "Young Marshal," Chang Hsueh-liang, supergovernor of Manchuria and now domi-

nant over North China, signalized his friendship with the National Government at Nanking by a visit to the capital which lasted from Nov. 12 to Nov. 23. This courageous journey through a part of the country in which many partisans of the Central Government were highly suspicious of Marshal Chang's real intentions confounded skeptics and demonstrated the reality of the agreement existing between the two most powerful factions in the country. At the same time it failed to present evidence that this agreement is anything more than a political alliance. The emergence of constitutional bonds that would express the recognition by Peiping and Mukden of the legal supremacy of Nanking was still awaited.

Dispatches asserted, apparently with some uncertainty, that the Central Government confirmed its recognition of Chang Hsueh-liang's actual control over all China north of the

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Yellow River, including Shansi. Yen Hsi-shan, Governor of Shansi, recently self-declared President of

Northern China, announced his official retirement from politics on Nov. 4. The area between the Yellow and the Yangtse Rivers remained in possession of militarists known as "gray" commanders, men at present in Nanking's pay but regarded as unreliable and likely to take sides against the government if insufficiently subsidized and subjected to offers from an enemy that appeared strong enough to overthrow it. An era of peace was anticipated in view of Chang's show of friendship and Nanking's acceptance of his status in the North.

The correspondent of the *Osaka Mainichi* reported that the principal purpose of the conference between President Chiang Kai-shek and Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang was to agree upon a strong policy toward Japan, particularly in Manchuria. This was understood, he stated, to include arrangements by which the Nanking Government would support the north-

ern regional authority with 500,000 men in case of necessity, the latter doing the same for Nanking if the area under its direct control were menaced. Financially, it was said, Chang's domain was to be autonomous. Foreign relations were to be handled by Nanking except for matters deemed by Mukden to be solely of local importance. It should be noted that the customs revenues collected at ports within Chang Hsueh-liang's influence are remitted to Nanking, the customs officers being appointees of the Central Government. Chang, however, absorbs the revenues from the salt monopoly, which amount in Manchuria alone to more than \$30,000,000 yearly.

Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang was reported en route to Moscow via Siberia, while Governor Yen, his partner in the recent unsuccessful revolt, was known to be in Tientsin on his way to Japan. On the other hand, the much-

wedded former war lord of Shantung, Chang Tsung-chang, was reported to have sent a consignment of his wives to Dairen, in anticipation of his reentry into Chinese politics as an underling of Chang Hsueh-liang.

The fourth plenary session of the central executive committee of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) was convened at Nanking on Nov. 12. President Chiang Kai-shek opened the session with a vehement denunciation of the members of the party who put themselves before the good of the party and the country. Everywhere, he declared, he saw corruption and inefficiency, which he viewed as responsible for the lack of popular confidence in the party. Fifty-eight formal proposals were placed before the conference, which divided into five committees to consider them. Among the proposals those of importance called for simplification of governmental machinery, abolition of the



THE FAR EAST

old provinces and divisions of the country into some seventy smaller provinces without autonomy, disbandment of 2,000,000 soldiers so as to leave an army of 600,000, and suppression of banditry and communism.

Other items upon the agenda were a general amnesty for all political offenders except Communists and ring-leaders of rebellions, enforcement of competitive examinations in the selection of officials, enactment of a special statute making bribery and embezzlement of public funds punishable by life imprisonment or death, with confiscation of the offender's property, complete suppression of the opium traffic within three years, abolition of *likin* (transit taxes) on Jan. 1, 1931, and financial rehabilitation. It was resolved that a national people's convention should be convened on May 5, 1931, to draft a permanent constitution and to set a date for its enforcement. Protection of individual liberty was urged by Sun Fo as a means of rallying the people to the government's support.

The impression made upon foreign observers by the present Central Government of China was expressed in a statement of Charles R. Crane, former Minister of the United States to that country. He said, in part, in an interview in Tokyo on Nov. 22: "Young China is coming through this period in a most promising way. * * * The political side has been much improved in the last few weeks through the cordial and strong understanding between Mukden and Nanking. * * * General Chiang Kai-shek at Nanking is surrounded by a dozen able, hard-working and sincere men who lead lives of great austerity. * * * With substantial unity obtained, all based on a simple, easily understood democratic doctrine, with a fine, resolute body of devoted young Chinese who know where they are going in charge, the menace of further European influence removed, Japan more sympathetic in her attitude, Russia demoralized for a century, China's rela-

tive position in the world is much more promising than it has been."

COMMUNISM AND BANDITRY IN CHINA

The spread of communism, which is the subject of two articles on pages 521-528 of this magazine, is gaining momentum despite all efforts of the government to curb it. Reports from Northwest Hupeh said that 20,000 Communists had annihilated a like number of provincial troops and that Communist activities were increasing greatly throughout that area. Bandits in Southeastern Honan were said to be conducting a reign of terror and to have executed many tax officials. The Communist leaders in Hupeh were described as well-educated members of the upper classes, merciless, however, in their war against capitalism. The stealing of \$4,000 from a ship by river pirates near Wuhu indicated that the Communist threat might spread even to Anhwei Province, east of Honan and Hupeh Provinces. And a Hankow dispatch, of Dec. 11, reported that Tsingshih, an important provincial town 125 miles northwest of Changsha, had fallen into the hands of the Communists. Canton reported that Communists were pillaging towns in Northern Kwantung.

Previous dispatches reported that Kwangchow, southeastern city of Honan, was in Communist hands after a long siege and that a number of missionaries were in danger. A ransom of \$80,000 gold was demanded by the occupying force at Kian, Kiangsi Province, for the release of fourteen Roman Catholic missionaries. Hsinyu, in Eastern Kiangsi, was reported raided by bandits, with heavy losses of life and property. In Northwest Kiangsi the efforts of the government to check looting, murder and kidnapping showed signs of success. Two Roman Catholic priests were seized in the Kulupa district of Shensi. From Hunan eighteen Spanish Augustinian priests were reported missing. Siangyin, in Hupeh, was captured by ban-

dits who were said to be Communists. The Peiping correspondent of *Pravda*, Moscow, reported that 200 counties, with a population of 30,000,000, were in the possession of peasant armies of 300,000 men led by a Communist element which he estimated at 5 per cent of the total force. *Pravda* alleged that the first brigade sent by the Nanking Government against the Communists joined forces with them.

Two Italian priests were reported killed by bandits at Hingan, South Shensi, late in November. Heavy ransoms were demanded for the release of captive foreigners. In one case the sum of 26,000 Mexican dollars was paid for a missionary. Changteh, in Northwestern Hunan, fell into the hands of irregulars on Dec. 2, the provincial troops making slight efforts to prevent the capture. On that date twenty-five foreign missionaries remained in the camps of their captors in Central and Northern China.

The spread of contagion to Northwest China was indicated in the hold-up of a Peiping-Suiyuan train by bandits, who looted the train and kidnapped 42 passengers, and also by the seizure in Suiyuan, only twenty miles from the railhead at Paotowchen, of an American woman missionary and her British nurse by brigands. The women were freed by their own guards, who attacked the brigands, but were unable to make their way in safety from the camp, which was surrounded by hostile bands, until provincial troops came to their rescue.

It was reliably estimated that 250 instances of firing on Yangtse shipping had occurred during the three months ended Nov. 30. The United States gunboat Panay was shelled on Nov. 12 and again the next day. The British ship Petrel was attacked. Both vessels returned the fire. Government gunboats were reported inactive in the face of this menace to their own and foreign shipping. The U. S. S. Palos was bombarded near Chengling on Nov. 17 and the Tutuila

on the following day in the same region.

CHINA'S FOREIGN RELATIONS

Our Department of State on Nov. 13 issued a statement on extraterritoriality in which it referred to its statements of Sept. 4, 1929, and Nov. 11, 1929, and announced that it had communicated proposals in keeping with those statements to Dr. C. C. Wu, Chinese Minister at Washington, and to his government at Nanking. "Broadly speaking," the announcement said, "the proposals are constituted in part on the principle of transfer of jurisdiction in reference to specified kinds of cases and in part on the principle of such transfer in all but a specified area or areas. The proposals are similar to, but not identical with, proposals made to the Chinese Government by the British Government on Sept. 11, 1930."

A conference on readjustment of China's foreign and domestic debts was opened at Nanking on Nov. 15. It was attended by Dr. C. T. Wang, Foreign Minister; Nelson Johnson, the American Minister, and representatives of Great Britain, France, Japan, Belgium, Holland and Italy. The foreigners expressed their readiness to cooperate in bringing about an early solution of the debt problems which would be equitable to all. The resignation of the Finance Minister, T. V. Soong, reported last month, was not accepted, but instead his suggestions for reform were adopted.

L. M. Karakhan, the Soviet delegate, and Mo Teh-hui, Chinese delegate, exchanged acrimonious notes, in which Karakhan declared and Mo denied that the present administration of the Chinese Eastern Railway violated the Peking-Mukden agreement of 1924. A conference to settle this question began at Moscow on Dec. 4, but broke up on Dec. 16 without result.

China and Japan found difficulty in reaching agreement concerning the future status of various lines of cable with landings on Chinese soil but

which are owned and operated by Japan. Cables from Tsingtao to Sasebo, with branches from Tsingtao to Chefoo and from Tsingtao to Shanghai, from Shanghai to Nagasaki, from Foochow to Formosa and from Chefoo to Dairen, also land telegraphs in Manchuria outside the Japanese railway zone, were involved in the controversy. On two of the cable lines, the Foochow-Formosa and the Chefoo-Dairen lines, landing-rights contracts were to terminate on Dec. 31. The Ministry of Communications let it be known that, failing negotiated agreements, the contracts due to expire and all corollary privileges would be unilaterally terminated by the Chinese Government on Jan. 1, 1931. The radio station at Shanghai is capable of handling the business without inconvenience to the business community.

Baron Shidehara, Japan's Foreign Minister and acting Premier, instructed *Chargé d'Affaires* Shigemitsu at Nanking to decline to accede to the request of the Nanking Government for the relinquishment of the Japanese concession at Hankow, a request made by Dr. C. T. Wang on Nov. 24. The reply was merely a verbal one, pending careful consideration of the Chinese note. It indicated that the Japanese Government considered it impossible to act with regard to the concession until the issue of extra-territoriality had been settled.

JAPANESE PREMIER'S ESCAPE FROM ASSASSINATION

Premier Yuko Hamaguchi, head of the Minseito, the government party, and now a man of sixty, narrowly missed paying with his life for his courageous guidance of the London naval treaty to imperial ratification when he was shot by Tomeo Sagoya, a young member of Aikokusha, a reactionary organization of "patriots," at the Tokyo central station on Nov. 14. The Premier underwent a successful operation. His assailant was arrested and charged with attempted murder. T. Maruyama, the Inspector General

of Police of Tokyo prefecture, resigned, accepting responsibility for the incident. Baron Shidehara, Foreign Minister, was appointed acting Premier by the Emperor. Some doubt as to his suitability for the post was raised in the Minseito ranks, on the ground that the principal government spokesman in the Diet would be a man who is not a member of the Minseito and not by career a party man. Hamaguchi's recovery was believed assured but was thought likely to be too gradual to permit his meeting the Diet.

The police report published on Dec. 10 stated that dissatisfaction over the London naval treaty and the unemployment situation was the motive which led Sagoya to shoot Premier Hamaguchi, and that two other persons, Yoshikatu Matsuki and Ainosuke Iwata, had been arrested as accomplices and charged with instigating Sagoya's attempt. Iwata is head of the Aikokusha, of which Matsuki and Sagoya also are members. According to the police, speeches by Matsuki and Iwata last October calling for the overthrow of the Hamaguchi Government caused Sagoya to attempt to assassinate the Premier. The speeches attacked the naval treaty and scored the government for unemployment. Sagoya subsequently awaited an opportunity to attack the Premier, and on learning that the Premier spent week-ends at Kamakura he trailed him there, but failed to approach him. He then tried to approach Hamaguchi at the Kobe railway station when the Premier returned from viewing manoeuvres late in October. Matsuki ridiculed Sagoya for his failure, strengthening the latter's determination to renew the attempts. Finally, on Nov. 14, Sagoya succeeded in approaching the Premier at a Tokyo station, saluted him and then drew a revolver and fired pointblank. He was about to fire a second time when he was disarmed. Iwata supplied the revolver.

A severe earthquake struck the southeastern section of the main

island of Japan, Hondo, on Nov. 26. The shocks were felt intensively over an area of 8,000 square miles, from Numazu on the west coast to Odawara on the east, and from Gotemba on the north to Chuzenji on the south. They extended in less severity from Osaka to Fukui. The shocks continued for thirty minutes and produced vibrations of the instruments at the central meteorological bureau of $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the greatest since the disastrous earthquake of September, 1923. In many towns and cities large numbers of buildings were shaken down. Railway service between Tokyo and Atami was interrupted. Shizuoka prefecture was hardest hit. On Nov. 27 an official list of 285 dead was issued by the prefectural office. The town of Mishima felt the severest shocks, which destroyed two-thirds of its buildings and killed many people. The giant temblor was the culmination of some 1,800 lesser quakes that had begun in the Izu peninsula on Nov. 7. Tokyo and Yokohama were within the radius of frightening shocks. Part of the great tunnel nearing completion between Atami and Numazu collapsed. The area visited by the earthquake contains the most famous shrine in all Japan, the great shrine of Izu, and

its coast-line is popular with Japanese as a place of recreation. Damage to property and loss of life were less than usual because people generally had taken warning from the frequent lesser shocks and had extinguished fires upon retiring. No foreigners were known to have been killed or injured.

The government decided to float an internal loan of from \$15,000,000 to \$25,000,000 for the relief of unemployment by public works. Approval of the Diet was required for the loan. The government planned to work in collaboration with the prefectural administrations and to devote the greater part of the funds to road-building and river improvement. The government's figures of 380,000 for the total of unemployed persons were believed to be considerably short of actual numbers. It was anticipated that the government would drop between 7,000 and 8,000 workers in its naval yards on March 31 as a result of the reduced naval budget.

The government's special committee on electoral reform recommended reduction of the voting age from 25 to 20 years. This was accepted by the government and will be presented in a bill to the Diet.

The International Sugar Conference

THE problem of limiting world sugar production was the subject of the International Sugar Conference which met at Brussels on Dec. 10. There were two preliminary meetings, one at Amsterdam on Nov. 29 between the Cuban-American and Javanese interests, and one at Berlin among the German, Czechoslovakian and Polish producers. Thomas L. Chadbourne, head of the Cuban-American delegation, directed negotiations at Amsterdam which resulted on Dec. 8 in an important agreement between the Dutch Sugar Trust and

the Cuban-American industry. (For the background of the Cuban situation see *CURRENT HISTORY* for November, page 276.)

This agreement, which at the outset had been flatly rejected by Java, provided that Javanese exports shall be restricted to 2,400,000 tons for 1932, 2,500,000 for 1933, 2,600,000 for 1934, and 2,700,000 for 1935. Java's normal production is about 3,000,000 tons a year, of which 300,000 is usually reserved for home consumption. Cuba has made even more radical concessions. Whereas her crop for 1929-30

was estimated at 4,670,000 tons, she has agreed to curtail her production to 3,570,000 tons, a sacrifice of more than 23 per cent.

At Brussels, the nine chief sugar-producing nations which met to relieve one of the worst depressed industries in the world today found progress much more difficult. Besides Cuba and Java, there were official delegations from Germany, Czechoslovakia and Poland (the three largest beet sugar producers), as well as Hungary, France, Belgium and Peru. Again Thomas L. Chadbourne took the lead in the negotiations. On Dec. 11 he presented a plan by which all the European producers would agree to curtail their exports by 15 per cent during the next year. This demanded serious sacrifices, but most of all from the Germans, and it soon became apparent that German consent was the key to any satisfactory arrangement.

In 1930 Germany exported 235,000 tons, and the proposal would decrease this to about 200,000 tons. In addition, Germany has a surplus of 812,000 tons, and it was suggested that this be disposed of in equal parts over a period of five years. This sacrifice was entirely unacceptable to the Germans, and their best counter-proposal rejected any decrease and demanded instead an increase in their quota of 170,000 tons, or about 70 per cent. These terms were characterized by all the other delegations as "exorbitant and unjustified demands." But the Germans explained that it

was only by the most aggressive exportation policy of all products that Germany could meet her reparation and private obligations.

This was Germany's last word. On Dec. 15 her delegation deserted the conference and went home. Meanwhile, Cuba, Java, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Belgium and Hungary agreed temporarily to sign Mr. Chadbourne's plan, provided he could secure Germany's adherence by Jan. 15. Thus the matter rested.

Although it might seem from this account that the results of the conferences could only be estimated as negligible, this is not the case. The delegates themselves saw four significant achievements in the outcome. The first of these was that Java had at last been induced to enter some sort of an agreement, an event which was considered extremely doubtful at the beginning of the Amsterdam conference. Secondly, the provisional adherence of six countries to the Chadbourne plan was considered little short of miraculous. Thirdly, the fact that a meeting of German producers was called in Berlin on Dec. 16 held out a reasonable hope that Germany could seek some compromise before Jan. 15. Finally, it was pointed out by Mr. Chadbourne that the sugar conferences were being eagerly watched by producers of other raw materials affected by the depression, who at the first sign of success, would be only too glad to seek similar agreements among themselves.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

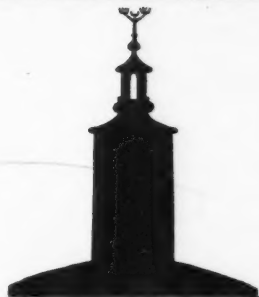
Andrew Johnson

Continued from Page XV

word on Johnson. With prodigious patience and diligent study of every book, record, speech and minute bearing on the life and experiences of the subject, the author has uncovered much new material and utilized fresh human documents of real historical value. The style is limpid and definite. Mr. Milton does not draw the portrait of a superman, endowed with supernatural perfectibility, a mystic or fabulous hero. He tells the story of a human being, of a man who, by his own efforts, through toil, painful and distressing experiences, rose with only the heritage of pitiful, unlettered ignorance and abject poverty from the lowliest stratum of social environment to the highest pinnacle of political eminence, and won a position of supremacy in the exalted company of America's most conspicuous statesmen and illustrious patriots.

Mr. Milton departs from the customary biographical narrative in introducing his work by graphically picturing Washington in the Winter of 1863-64, when "war, mud and dust" were the distinctive features of the city. It was a modern Babylon, reeking with corruption, odorous from open pools, swamps and ditches; cows, horses, sheep, goats and pigs in large numbers roamed at will, creating "abominable nuisances"; streams of ambulances poured through the streets carrying wounded soldiers to its twenty-one hospitals. At all hours, by day and night, Washington heard the rumble of artillery, the galloping of cavalry, the clank of sabres, the rhythmic tread of marching infantry, the noisy screeching of commissary carts and wagons, the beating of drums and the shrill notes of bugle calls. The population was constantly reminded of the war by the thunder of distant battle. The yells and oaths of mule skinnners, marshaling thousands of animals each day through the city, added to the din; undisciplined soldiers thronged the streets with uproarious clamor. Saloons were everywhere; houses of ill-fame and gaming establishments dotted each district, wide open and unashamed; some palatial, many the lowest of dens, were thickly scattered on every thoroughfare and were densely packed with men of high and low degree.

Chapter II is a searching, illuminating story of the political manoeuvring of the radicals to prevent the renomination of Lincoln, whom they hated. This is succeeded by a detailed narrative of the National Union Convention. There the machinations of the radicals, who detested Lincoln's toleration and fairness, and to whom his leniency toward the South was



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anathema, are mercilessly but truthfully portrayed, and their complete discomfiture at that convention eloquently described. Lincoln was triumphantly nominated for President, and Andrew Johnson, Tennessee's great Union War Governor, was chosen for Vice President.

Thus the stage is set, and the tailor boy enters the scene. It is a thrilling tale. This little boy, handicapped by a worthless, ne'er-do-well stepfather, his mother a poverty-stricken laundress and seamstress, bound as an apprentice at 14 years of age to a humble, insignificant tailor "to learn the tailor's trade and to serve him faithfully until he was 21 years of age," began his life as a fugitive apprentice in the little town of Greeneville, in the mountains of East Tennessee. His shop was a one-room ramshackle cabin; here, when plying the needle, he would hear extracts read from standard books by volunteer readers; when he could snatch an hour from toil he would attend a debating club, meanwhile acquiring ability to cipher and write from lessons given by his girl wife. He made rapid strides, and soon was known in the town as a promising debater and impressive speaker. Public office soon followed—first, village Alderman, then, in turn, Mayor, Assemblyman, State Senator, Congressman, twice Governor, and in 1856 United States Senator.

The author's training equips him admirably to sift fact from fiction. In relating the story of Johnson's persecution by the radicals and the history of events preceding and during the impeachment, he is fair and unbiased. Though himself descended from a family conspicuous in the Confederacy, the grand-nephew of a noted rebel fire-eater, he is entirely just to Johnson, the bitterest and most relentless Southern foe of the secession leaders. Mr. Milton's story of the impeachment trial is brilliant and thrilling, and contains much new material. He does not mince words, nor does he suppress incriminating facts when the records sustain them. He proves that Grant broke his word and falsified a situation preceding the impeachment; he exposes the double dealing of Beecher and Tilton; the journalistic debauchery of Bennett; he establishes the fact that Sumner acknowledged that he was a biased judge in the impeachment proceedings and acted wholly from political and not judicial impulses; the record of Stevens's vindictive villainy, Benjamin Butler's abominable duplicity, Stanton's disreputable hypocrisy, the malignant ferocity, venomous hatred and odious plots of the radicals, which constitute the most shameful chapter in American political history, are set forth in detail, substantiated in every instance by documentary proof.

The reader, when he has finished this brilliant volume and has carefully analyzed the

voluminous details of this wonderful career, if he be just, must unreservedly endorse the judgment of Johnson as pronounced by Attorney General Stanbery in these words, when he closed his impeachment address: "From the moment that I was honored with a seat in the Cabinet of Mr. Johnson, not a step was taken that did not come under my observation. I regarded him closely in Cabinet, and in still more private and confidential conversation. I saw him often tempted with bad advice. I knew that evil counselors were more than once around him. I observed him with the most intense anxiety, but never in word, in deed, in thought, in action, did I discover in that man anything but loyalty to the Constitution and the laws. He stood firm as a rock against all temptation to abuse his own powers or to exercise those which were not conferred upon him. Steadfast and self-reliant in the midst of all difficulty, when dangers threatened, when temptations were strong, he looked only to the Constitution of his country and to the people."

Nearly three-quarters of a century after the events upon which the impeachment was based the United States Supreme Court unanimously upheld Johnson's acts as proper and strictly within constitutional limits.—G. W. O. O.

China: Past and Present

By CYRUS H. PEAKE

Department of Chinese, Columbia University

CHINESE CIVILIZATION. By Marcel Granet. Pp. xxiii, 444. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. \$7.50.

CHINA: THE COLLAPSE OF A CIVILIZATION. By Nathaniel Peffer. Pp. ix, 306. New York: The John Day Company, 1930. \$3.50.

TORTURED CHINA. By Hallett Abend. Pp. xlii, 305. New York: Ives Washburn, 1930. \$3.

THE fascinatingly written book on Chinese civilization by Marcel Granet, well-known French Sinologue, professor at l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes and Governor of l'Institut des Hautes Etudes Chinoises de Paris, appeared first in the French series "Library of Historical Synthesis," edited by Henri Berr. The English edition forms part of "The History of Civilization" edited by C. K. Ogden.

What Professor Granet has achieved here is a synthetic picture of the evolution of Chinese society and political customs and institutions from the earliest known times to their fruition in the Han dynasty (206 B. C. to 220 A. D.). This work is the result of years of scholarly research on the part of the author and in that respect is an epitome of all his earlier works and the mature conclusions at which he has arrived. His method of approach and use of the materials relating to China's ancient his-

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tory, as the reviewer has come to appreciate them after a year of study under him at Paris, is unique among contemporary scholars both East and West. While accepting the sounder criticisms as to the authenticity and authorship of the Chinese classics, Professor Granet does not rest satisfied with trying to discover just by whom and when they were written. He makes such conclusions the starting point for a critical and interpretive analysis of the extant literature dating from that period. As a comparative sociologist he is enabled to derive from the events, customs and ceremonials recorded therein an understandable account of the growth of Chinese feudal and later imperial society, of the growth of the family system and of the life in town and country.

Granet begins his account of the evolution of Chinese society about the eighth century before our era. His conclusions concerning the history of the Chinese before that century he gives in the following words: "The problem of Chinese origins remains entirely unsolved. There is little to hope for in the study of the texts, but much may be expected from archaeology, and above all from prehistoric archaeology. * * * One first fact seems established: Civilization is ancient in the Far East. A second fact appears highly probable: There is little likelihood that this civilization was strictly autonomous." Granet finds no reason to believe that the Chinese were less subject to invasions and influences coming from the West either by way of the North or the South in ancient than in modern times: "Neither the steppe nor the mountain nor even the sea was, in prehistoric times, an insuperable obstacle."

The author has been eminently successful in freeing himself from westernized conceptions of legal and social development. By an almost constant reliance upon the sources and very frequent direct translations, rendered in a highly illuminating and beautiful style, the Western reader is led to enter sympathetically and imaginatively into an intriguing new world of social and individual attitudes and relationships. One's appreciation and understanding of Chinese society is greatly enhanced upon the reading of this book. The picture of a static formalized society which the orthodox histories of China present is quickly dispelled. Chinese civilization is seen as constantly evolving, "rich in youth forces," in the centuries before the end of the Han dynasty as it is now.

Mr. Peffer, who visited China in 1928 and 1929 as a Guggenheim fellow, has written one of the most comprehensive interpretations of contemporary China that has yet appeared. His historical approach—"history seen * * * not as event but as effect"—and his viewpoint of a vigorous and mechanized West intruding upon the "simplicities and fixities of a non-mechanized" China enables him to dis-



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cover a certain inevitable logic in the confused picture which that nation now presents to the world. The book is, consequently, highly impressionistic, with a frequent resort to generalizations. These, of course, will subject the author to attacks from many sides. For example, it is his contention that "the real break-up of China has now come. * * * It is actual break-up from within—dissolution." Many will disagree with him as to the extent to which that process has gone or must go in the future, especially in the realm of family life. In Japan, where industrialization (in relation to agricultural life) has gone further already than perhaps it will ever go in China, the family system is still vigorous and widespread, affecting even industrial and business organizations as well as political life. At times Mr. Pepper's generalizations become confusing, as when he states that "the civilization which set the Chinese off from all other peoples cannot be carried over into a world of fast railways and airplanes." Yet on the following page he states that "China will no doubt remain Chinese" and this is to be achieved without synthesis. This confusion would not have arisen had the author appraised the real cultural renaissance that has been going on in China for over 200 years and has continued even through the present period of disorder and slavish imitation of Western things. To name recent developments in two fields alone, those of law and architecture, there are already concrete evidences of a combining of Western and Chinese elements, the very synthesis which the author denies will occur.

Mr. Pepper has written a stimulating and in many respects a provocative book. It will be read with profit by all, even by those most intimately acquainted with the China scene. The appearance of the book at this time is most opportune. He has most clearly and forcibly stated the case against foreign military intervention to restore civil order in China. His historical interpretation of how the present situation arose is the best answer to those less well-informed who propose that military intervention be now added to all those other forms of interference in China which Westerners have been permitting themselves during the past 100 years.

Hallett Abend has given us an even more comprehensive survey in the number and variety of facts presented and subjects discussed than has Mr. Pepper, but unlike Mr. Pepper he lacks historical perspective and the maturity of judgment which an adequate knowledge of the past gives. Rarely does Mr. Abend deal with events before 1926 (the year in which he took up his residence in China). After painting, in the mood of the moment, a gloomy and despairing picture based upon his dispatches to *The New York Times* during the

years 1926-30, the author blithely proposes foreign military intervention to bring an end to China's civil war. The ineptitude of the suggestion must be apparent to all who have only the most general knowledge of China's recent history. *The New York Times* in an editorial published on Nov. 18, 1930, indirectly disavowed an endorsement of its correspondent's proposal when it stated that "observers of the Chinese scene whose duty ends with recording their honest conclusions may be permitted to register a verdict of despair. But it is an impossible position for the leading governments of the world to take." The editorial concluded by an expression of "hope in the stability of the Nanking régime and the coming of better days for the Chinese people." Mr. Abend's book will have little influence beyond arousing the resentment of politically conscious Chinese unless it be in the foreign circles of China's port cities, where it may cause a momentary flicker of hope, to be followed by an even deeper despair that they and their governments will ever see eye to eye in the formulation of a "strong" China policy.

The American Public Mind

By BERNHARD J. STERN

Lecturer, New School of Social Research

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC MIND. By Peter Odegard. New York: Columbia University Press. Pp. ix, 308. 1930. \$2.50.

PETER ODEGARD, the author of *Pressure Politics*, in his new book draws up what may be regarded as an indictment of capitalist democracy in the United States. His facts have to do with such matters as the subsidized obscurantist influence of the Church, the use of the schools to indoctrinate established sanctions and to heighten class and national royalties, the exercise of power by wealth through lobbies, the control by a few corporations of the organs that mold public opinion, the movies, the newspapers and the radio. According to Mr. Odegard this has resulted in great illiteracy and the dominance of a shallow intellectual tradition; colleges that are academic mortuaries; newspapers that avoid real issues by playing upon the fear, lust and avarice of their readers; two indistinguishable political parties, both of which represent the moneyed interests and not the working masses; legislators that hearken to the voices of the lobbyists rather than to the voice of the people; insipid picture plays of escape, with a rigid censorship of topics hostile to conservative groups, and radio programs with four hours of syncopation to one of "education," the latter saturated with chauvinistic and reactionary propaganda while closed to radicals.

This is the stuff out of which stirring tracts are made, but since the author is wavering and indecisive in his interpretation, his political and economic judgments remain dim and unexpressed, though his selection of data stamps him as a liberal. Occasionally he seems by implication to subscribe to the liberal belief that the conditions which he describes are mere sores on the body politic and that all that is necessary is to salve the patient with a few palliatives. On the other hand, the general tenor of the book produces the impression that he regards the abuses which he describes as inherent in the very nature of the present order.

There is much of the classroom tone about the volume; in fact it too often seems to be merely rewritten from a series of lecture cards. The notes are far more enlightening than the general run of college lectures on social science, but the final product remains fragmentary, lacking careful synthesis and integration. The opening chapters on "The Foundations of Personality" and "Social Behavior" are especially desultory; the discussion of "pressure politics," however, raises the level of the book well above the commonplace.

The Psychology of Socialism

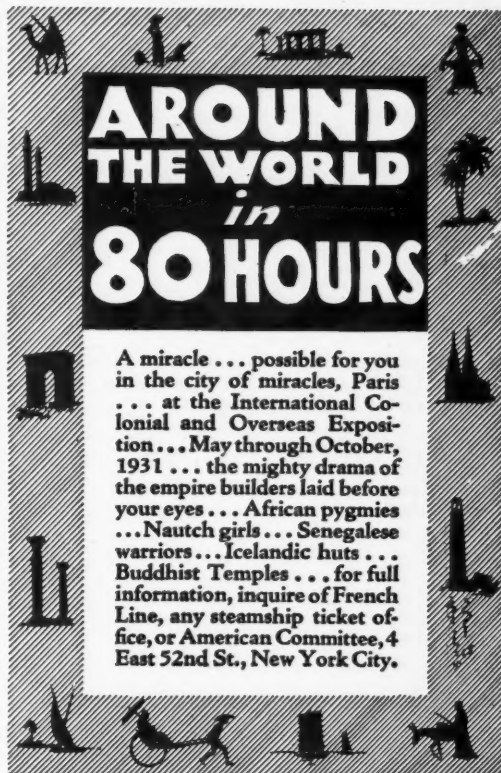
By SIDNEY HOOK

Department of Philosophy, New York University

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIALISM. By Henri DeMan. Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. New York: Henry Holt, 1930. \$4.

NO book since the days when Eduard Bernstein's *Presuppositions of Socialism* brought on theoretical civil war among Socialists, has made such a stir in Marxian circles as this book by Henri DeMan. From all sides it has been showered either with denunciation or acclaim. Karl Kautsky has condemned the book as a social-patriotic footnote to the Treaty of Versailles, though DeMan's attack upon Marxism consists largely of the charge that it fails to consider adequately the motives behind individual and mass action.

Before the war DeMan was known as the leading Left Wing spirit among Belgian Socialists, but at the outbreak of hostilities with Germany, despite his being an ardent antimilitarist and internationalist, he felt it his ethical duty to enlist in the Belgian Army. He served with distinction—and an uneasy conscience. Throughout the war he meditated upon the conflict between his Marxist convictions and his sense of ethical loyalty. He found peace only by fighting his way to the conclusion that the "Marxian mode of thought" was



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radically false. This book, however, shows that DeMan never really grasped what was central to the Marxian mode of thought in its bearings on ethics, that is, its radical, historical naturalism.

DeMan attempts to supplant Marx with the gospels of Freud, Bergson and Jesus. The most original feature of DeMan's position is that it purports to be a defense of practical reformism in behalf of the revolutionary spirit. German Social-Democratic reformism is condemned because its revolutionary spirit has been stifled by the rigid formulas of Marxism and distilled into a fatal malady which DeMan calls *embourgeoisment*. Russian revolutionary ideology is condemned because it does not allow for the practical reformism of the moment and because in refusing to substitute social pacifism for the class struggle, it makes for "selfishness" and "barbarism." It is quite clear from this that DeMan is offering as a basis for social philosophy the idea that nothing really good can be accomplished in society unless it is done by good men. The prime task, then, becomes for the individual to improve his own soul. Before the social revolution comes, he maintains, we must look to a "revolution which will change ourselves." Scientific sociology is to be driven out by a religious ethic.

The argument is developed along three lines. First, there is an attack upon the Marxian theory of motives which assumes that "social activities are determined by an awareness of economic interests." There follows a criticism of Marxist determinism and rationalism which hold that knowledge of causal processes is the chief guide to social activity. Finally, and most important, Marxism is taken to task for turning its back on the eternal principles of morality, for refusing to base its approach on ethical values and the "altruistic instinct."

DeMan is at his best in discussing the psychology of social action. An extensive firsthand experience in trade union activity stands him in good stead. But he radically misconceives the basic intent of Marxian sociology in assuming, first, that it is primarily interested in the psychology of individual action, and, second, that it recognizes no other motive than narrow economic interest behind class action. What DeMan has proved is that Marxian psychology is too simple or too simply expressed and that a host of problems clamor for an attention they have not as yet received. But that is a far cry from the attempt to build up a theory of social motives in terms of the Freudian mythology.

Where this "scientific psychology," compounded of the mysticism of Freud, the instinctivism of McDougall and the *élan vital* of Bergson, leads, is revealed in DeMan's attack

on rationalism. He denies that social phenomena are explicable in terms of scientific causation, denies that abstractions can adequately render existence, and dismisses the possibility of a science of ethics. He holds that reason is a mere servant of will and that the truths discovered by reason reflect what we want, not what objectively exists—a half-truth from which follows the view that "socialism is a passion, not a cognition." The source of all these positions is the mistaken assumption that Marxism attempts "to reduce all phenomena to mechanical phenomena." This in the face of Engels's attack on vulgar materialism, Marx's criticisms of idealistic fatalism, and the emphasis of both on the conditions, not causes, under which men make their own history.

But the alpha and omega of DeMan's book is a passionate outcry against the absence of moral motives in Marxism. Here DeMan is profoundly in error in imagining that an attack upon an absolutistic ethics, whose eternal values are the disguises assumed by the temporal goods of an earlier age, is equivalent to a denial of the possibility of any ethics. The Marxian view is that the good is dependent upon human desire and human desire upon the nature of the environing world. Since the latter is constantly changing, the concrete moral demands of men change. There are no fixed ends or final goods. The "ought-to-be," although never identical with "what-is," is functionally and temporally related to what-is. The ethics of Marx did not merely demand social justice but a specific kind of justice dependent upon the objective possibilities created by capitalism. And since every ethics basically represents a series of demands and not a series of demonstrations, Marx's ethics was a fighting ethics. The only thing eternal about morality is man's desire for "the better"; but what that better is, only the specific time and circumstances can reveal. Consequently, when DeMan pleads for a socialism on the basis of an absolute morality, "a social science in the service of the social conscience," one must call a halt and ask, Whose conscience? This is the rock upon which all absolute moralities must founder. But if we reject absolutist moralities, where shall we look for our ethical standards? The task then becomes for a naturalistic morality to show how it is possible to evolve ethical standards without appealing to a conscience, a God or an absolute scale of values. Such a naturalistic morality has its philosophical roots in Aristotle and Hegel, not in Jesus or Kant. Its finest flower today is the ethical philosophy of John Dewey.

DeMan's book is really autobiography in the guise of an attack on Marxism. Its chief usefulness is that it reveals a number of problems which Marxians, too often content to mouth pious phrases, have failed to consider. On the

other hand, the book is marred in places by bitterness toward DeMan's former German comrades. He cannot forgive himself and his Marxian friends for being overcome by reformism and social patriotism on the eve of the World War. The fact of the betrayal is true and sad enough. But DeMan fails to see that to the question as to whether this happened because they were Marxist or not Marxist enough, an answer is possible other than the one he gives. That answer is given by the Russian revolution.

America Before the War

By E. FRANCIS BROWN

OUR TIMES: *Pre-War America*. By Mark Sullivan. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930. Pp. xvii, 586. \$5.

OUR TIMES contains all the appeal of "looking through trunks in attics," wrote a reviewer of one of the earlier volumes of what is fast becoming a monumental history of contemporary America. The present reviewer hastens to add that even the fun of digging out the contents of an attic becomes tedious and wearisome if continued too long; *Pre-War America*, the third volume, comes dangerously close to the point of tedium.

Without being considered a proponent for the classical treatment of history, one may well ask if a work which jumbles together political, social and economic history without any attempt at synthesis, with little thought of deep interpretation, and with complete disregard for sequence, is anything more than a vast historical scrapbook. Scrapbooks are generally interesting—sometimes because they disclose the minds of their owners—but in the long run they are, after all, only scrapbooks. So with Mark Sullivan's *Pre-War America*. Parts of the book are amusing, awakening memories of the unsophisticated days "when you and I were young, Maggie"; other portions recall public problems which were little understood in their day and which are no more lucid after Mark Sullivan's treatment.

This volume resumes the narrative in the rather gaudy days of the Roosevelt Administration when "T. R." and "Will" were the best of friends, when Will was Secretary of War and a woman paid him the compliment, "Mr.

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Taft, you're really not near so fat as they say you are." All this is interesting and is a partial picture of the United States of about 1905. To bring another character on the scene, Charles Evans Hughes, we are led through the pathetic story of James Hazen Hyde, of his Equitable Life debacle and the State investigation of the life insurance companies—an investigation which made a reputation for Hughes. But probably that is as much a part of "our times" as Mr. Dooley's comment on American methods of reform: "Th' way we like best to clean th' house is to burn it down."

Exactly what is Mr. Sullivan's evaluation of Roosevelt is somewhat hard to determine. When he compares him to Mark Antony and quotes the characterization, "Antony was not a genius; he was a gigantic commonplace," one feels that at last he is pinned down; later passages make one less certain. In any case, it is a real pleasure to follow Roosevelt through the amusing Storer embroglio, the undignified row with the "pseudo-naturalists," the tactless error of the order for simplified spelling and the sensational White House luncheon (or was it dinner?) with Booker T. Washington. The irrepressible Mr. Dooley commented on this last episode: "Fr'm all I can learn, he hung his hat on th' rack an' used proper discrimination between th' knife and th' fork. * * * An inventory iv th' spoons after his departure showed that he had used gentlemanly restraint." Then finally the Roosevelt quarrel with "Pitchfork" Tillman in which the President certainly did not cover himself with glory.

The Tillman quarrel is described in the course of a long, poorly organized discussion of the railroad rate fight in 1906. While Roosevelt's part in this notable legislative battle is given its due, a great deal of extraneous material almost obscures "T. R." Here are presented the position of the railroads in 1906, the pass abuse, a biographical sketch of Robert M. La Follette, sidelights on Senator Aldrich, the struggle in Congress, what the press thought about it all and not least the relations of the President and Senator Tillman. It is a grand hodge-podge which ends weakly with an unexpected paragraph on Bryan.

So we pass to the fight against the hookworm and the story of pre-war songs. The chapter on songs starts the reader humming, no matter whether it is "Harrigan" or "He'd Have to Get Under," and wondering, when a strange song is encountered, why he never knew that particular outburst from "Tin-Pan Alley." Best of all are Mr. Sullivan's notes and running comments on the years 1906-1908, scrapbook items perhaps, but amusingly reminiscent. It may interest some to know

that Bernard Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession* was stopped by the New York police in 1907 and that the "most successful book" of that year was Frances Little's *The Lady of the Decoration*.

Pre-War America is a mine of ready information for the future social historian who wishes to tell of the United States in the years before the World War. But again, it is a scrapbook. What does it all mean? One suspects that it is "our times" as recalled by Mark Sullivan.

Brief Book Reviews

THE OCHRANA: THE RUSSIAN SECRET POLICE. By A. T. Vassilyev, edited by René Fülöp-Miller. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1930. Pp. 305. \$4.

Whatever else A. T. Vassilyev, the last Czarist Chief of Police, may have been, he was loyal to his Czar and to the Russian Empire. For to Vassilyev the thought never occurred that the secret police system of which he was part was anything but desirable, nay beneficial for the maintenance of order in "Holy Mother Russia." His memoirs have a naïve frankness which go far to make clear the spirit and point of view which made possible the life of the rotten anachronism that was the Empire of the Czars. The duties of the Ochrana "consisted in the investigation of all movements directed against the State, and in their destruction," and to this end all sorts of people were employed, "people of the working class, prostitutes, students, as well as respected party leaders, and even members of the Duma." But the Ochrana's intolerable system of watching Russian life with a great network of spies was in reality highly inefficient, as Vassilyev, however unconsciously, admits. For instance, the assassination of Prime Minister Stolypin in 1911 was committed by a trusted agent of the secret police. To many readers the most interesting episode in Vassilyev's career will be the account of his investigation of the murder of Rasputin, and for once the monk receives unusually kind treatment from this Czarist Chief of Police. Like so many volumes of memoirs, this is valuable not so much for its specific contents as for its illustration of a type of mind, a type of mind that in this case goes far toward explaining the fall of the Russian Empire.

KAISER AND CHANCELLOR. By Karl Friedrich Nowak. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930. Pp. xiv, 290. \$3.50.

This book has been written after conversations between the author and the former Kaiser which have been supplemented by a use of many documents; it has, therefore, most of the characteristics of memoirs without all the usual weaknesses. William II in childhood

was the victim, according to the present writer, of faulty training and an unsympathetic environment which are in part the explanation of much of his later career. The volume covers in gossip fashion the first two years of William's reign, to the moment of Bismarck's dismissal when the young Emperor became ruler indeed. It is an interesting story of the beginning of a reign handicapped by the heritage from Bismarck, "a heritage encumbered with an internal policy of the order of experimentation with guns and street fighting; with an extraordinarily involved foreign policy, and, in the Foreign Ministry created by Bismarck, an instrument of State in which every thread was controlled by the sinister Baron von Holstein; encumbered also with the disfavor of almost every political party." Although the ex-Kaiser is said to have commented to Nowak on his work, "one charge it will certainly be impossible for any one to level against you—that of obsequiousness," the work is unusually favorable to the fallen monarch and his policies. Perhaps this book is a prelude to a re-evaluation of William II.

SECRET SERVICE. By Major Gen. Sir George Aston. New York: Cosmopolitan Book Corporation, 1930. Pp. xi, 348. \$4.

Sir George Aston with a group of officers established the Naval Intelligence Department of the British Admiralty in 1887, and from that time on was concerned with some phase of the British Secret Service. The larger part of his memoirs is concerned with the intelligence service during the World War, how it gathered information from the Central Powers and kept these same enemies in ignorance of British activities. To his mind, one of the great feats of the war was moving the first British Expeditionary Force into France without the knowledge of the German General Staff; in the end this feat nullified the surprising size of the German Army which poured across the frontiers. The Dardanelles campaign is called the worst-kept secret of the war, although this tragedy was somewhat atoned for by the secret and successful withdrawal of the troops from Gallipoli. Many details of a gossip nature filter through the general story of the efficiency and shortcomings of the British Secret Service, and add color to an already interesting book. Some day the full account of the part played by espionage in the World War will be written; this book is a beginning.

WOLSEY. By Hilaire Belloc. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1930. \$5.

Mr. Belloc is fundamentally, of course, exploring the break-up of Christian unity, a break-up to which Great Britain in the era of Cardinal Wolsey contributed largely. If one ignores Mr. Belloc's dirge and his militant Catholicism, if one also ignores his rather quaint tendency occasionally to write down to his readers, one finds Mr. Belloc's most recent book rather good reading. He has dealt with the corruption of the Catholic Church with its attendant Reformation in the fif-

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teenth and sixteenth centuries with surprising impartiality. Mr. Belloc has an interesting period in European history to deal with. This fact has, indeed, made somewhat for confusion, since the author neglects few details of that period's history, to the exclusion frequently of Cardinal Wolsey. In the maze of Emperor, Pope, King and Anne Boleyn, however, he has caught the significance of Wolsey's position between the old religious order and the new—the man “who incarnated in England, and was the last to incarnate there, the united medieval hierarchy. The material splendor in which the priesthood clothed itself upon the eve of its catastrophe, the absolute power which could be concentrated in its hands, its fatal absorption in the things of this world were present in him exceedingly; so that all that he did with all his caste could give him made for the destruction of that caste.”

CONTEMPORARY IMMORTALS. By Archibald Henderson. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1930. \$2.50.

When he chose this paradoxical title for his twelve character sketches, Mr. Henderson was inviting a quarrel. For those who agree that Ford and Kipling belong to posterity are likely to deny that honor to Gandhi and Shaw. And it will be argued that but for the accident of the phonograph and player piano Paderewski's interpretative genius would have died with him. Probably Einstein, Mussolini, Mme. Curie and Marconi are safely immortal, but what about Orville Wright and Jane Addams? It is a futile controversy, and once the reader has sensibly ignored the title he can settle down to a good deal of pleasure in Mr. Henderson's method and style. This author is a surprising combination of Shaw's official biographer, man of letters, and head of the Department of Mathematics of the University of North Carolina. In this last capacity he is most entertaining, though perhaps superfluous, for who has managed his own immortality as skillfully as Shaw?

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES: FROM HANDICRAFT TO FACTORY, 1500-1820. By Harry J. Carman. New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1930. Pp. xii, 616.

For nearly a generation American historians have been undermining the old idea of history as “past politics,” but much of this work has been in the graduate schools and has only seeped into undergraduate classes on rare occasions. One of the notable assaults on the old idea of history is Professor Carman's recent textbook which covers the story of American life from the time of discovery until 1820. Great attention is given to the importance of the European social and economic background which stimulated and shaped the development of America and its institutions throughout this period. This emphasis is likely to make students realize at last that American history has been largely but a chapter in the greater his-

tory of the last four centuries in Europe. The work is well synthesized and even the lay reader will find an interesting story of the interplay of social, economic and political forces in the growth of the institutions of the New World.

Recent Important Books

By JAMES THAYER GEROULD

HISTORY

GIBBS, SIR PHILIP. *Since Then: The Disturbing Story of the World at Peace.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930. \$3.75.

The pathetic struggle of the world to recover after the tragedy of the great war, described by a man who has been an eye witness to a good deal of it.

GLAISE-HORSTENAU, EDMUND VON. *The Collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.* Translated by Ian F. D. Morrow. London: Dent, 1930. 25s.

A very valuable contribution to our knowledge of the events described, written by an Austrian.

POLITICAL SCIENCE

COLEGROVE, KENNETH W. *International Control of Aviation.* Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1930. \$2.50.

A description of the air systems of the world, with maps, with a discussion of the growth of international control both of civil and military aviation, together with a reprint of the important documents bearing on the subject.

HERRIOT, EDOUARD. *The United States of Europe.* Translated by Reginald J. Dingle. New York: Viking Press, 1930. \$3.50.

An ex-Premier of France explores the possibility of a European federation and argues for its necessity.

BIOGRAPHY

CHATTERTON, E. KEBLE. *England's Greatest Statesman: the Life of William Pitt, 1759-1806.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1930. \$4.

A new life of Pitt, incorporating a good deal of hitherto unpublished material.

ROBINSON, WILLIAM A. *Thomas B. Reed, Parliamentarian.* New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1930. \$5.

“The author has endeavored to let Reed tell his own story, explain his own course, and give his own opinion on the issues of the day.”

SOCIOLOGY

CALKINS, CLINCH. *Some Folks Won't Work.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1930. \$1.50.

Unemployment and its results; the tragedy of a badly adjusted industrial system, as seen by a social worker.

HALL, FRED SMITH and ELLIS, MABEL B., editors. *Social Work Year Book.* 1929. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1930. \$4.

A record of progress and accomplishments. Contains a descriptive list of social agencies working in the national field.

LAVINE, EMANUEL H. *The Third Degree.* New York: Vanguard Press, 1930. \$2.

The twentieth century inquisition, no less brutal than the fifteenth, described by a New

York newspaper man who believes in its necessity.

STRACHEY, RACHEL C. C. *Struggle; the Stirring Story of Woman's Advance in England*. New York: Duffield, 1930. \$3.50.

A lively history of English feminism, the struggle for equality of treatment in law and in industry, written by a woman who has been in recent years an active participant.

ECONOMICS

BARRON, CLARENCE W. *They Told Barron: Conversations and Revelations of an American Pepys in Wall Street*. Edited and arranged by Arthur Pound and Samuel Taylor Moore. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930. \$5.

Side lights on financial history from 1918 to 1928. Notes of conversations between the editor of *The Wall Street Journal* and many financial and political leaders.

McFADYEAN, SIR ANDREW. *Reparations Reviewed*. London: Benn, 1930. 8s. 6d.

The author, an English official connected in various capacities with reparation payments since 1920, has written a lucid account of ten years of negotiation.

SHOUP, CARL S. *The Sales Tax in France*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. \$5.

A careful analysis of the legal aspects, and of the economic and fiscal results of the tax, that since 1920 has assisted so greatly in balancing the budget.

STRONG, BENJAMIN. *Interpretations of Federal Reserve Policy in the Speeches and Writings of Benjamin Strong*. Edited by W. Randolph Burgess. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1930. \$4.

Governor Strong's share in the development of the policy of the Federal Reserve System and his understanding of the complex problems of war and post-war finance, give to this collection of his writings a permanent value.

TURLINGTON, EDGAR WILLIS. *Mexico and Her Foreign Creditors*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930. \$6.

The first volume of a series "Mexico in International Finance and Diplomacy." Later volumes will deal with the question of the protection of American lives and property, and with the foreign financing of Mexican railroads.

MISCELLANEOUS

BOWEN, FRANK C. *A Century of Atlantic Travel, 1830-1930*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1930. \$4.

Progress from the sailing packet to the Bremen. Full of detail regarding ships and ship owners of the "Atlantic ferry."

GAUSS, CHRISTIAN. *Life in College*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930. \$2.50.

The Dean of Princeton, with admirable understanding and sympathy, describes present-day student life.

JONES, CLARENCE F. *South America*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930. \$6.

A compendium of geography, very useful for those interested in the development of South American trade as well as for the student.

MOORE, EDWARD C. *Forty Years of Opera in Chicago*. New York: Liveright, 1930. \$5.

By the musical critic of *The Chicago Tribune*. An important contribution to the musical history of America.



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TO AND FROM OUR READERS

[The Editor assumes no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by return postage. Anonymous communications will be disregarded, but the names of correspondents will be withheld from publication upon request.]

A STATEMENT in the article "The Rulers of America," by Professor N. S. B. Gras, in December *CURRENT HISTORY* said, in reference to John Jacob Astor: "It is probably true that his influence with Gallatin, to whom he had loaned money, helped to secure the very special privilege of sending a ship to China just after the embargo act had gone into effect." This should have read: "It is probably true that his influence with Gallatin in getting the very special privilege of sending a ship to China just after the embargo act had gone into effect was not due to any loans from him."

* * *

GENERAL URIBURU

The attention of the editor has been called to an error which appeared in November *CURRENT HISTORY*. Under the picture of the Provisional President of Argentina in the pictorial section appeared the name of General José Evaristo Uriburu; this should have been General José Felix Uriburu.

* * *

READERS' APPRECIATION

Mr. James Harvey Robinson, the well-known historian, writing to the Editor of *CURRENT HISTORY*, refers to the magazine as "an admirable publication which is so very useful to all interested in current changes." Another reader, Mr. Charles C. Marshall, author of *The Roman Catholic Church in the Modern State*, writes: "I have been using the files of *CURRENT HISTORY* in my work and am greatly impressed with their inestimable value as a record of events too recent as yet to have passed into general history. I beg to express my acknowledgment of their unique value."

* * *

NEW ENGLAND IN 1930

To the Editor of Current History:

As a student of cultural, racial and political trends in New England, I wish to thank you for publishing so fair and fearless an article as Walter Prichard Eaton's "New England in 1930." It is true and right from start to finish.

TALCOTT MINER BANKS.

Williamstown, Mass.

* * *

THE WORKINGMAN IN RUSSIA.

To the Editor of Current History:

May I take the liberty to draw your attention to an inaccuracy in Mr. Scheler's article, "The Workingman in Russia," published in *CURRENT HISTORY* for October, 1930?

In speaking of collective farms, Mr. Scheler

states that on March 1 they embraced 55 per cent of all peasant farms in the Soviet Union. He does not, however, point out that following Stalin's change of agrarian policy which took place in March, a number of peasants withdrew from the collectives, with the result that by June 1 it was officially estimated that collective farms embraced only 25 per cent of the peasant holdings. This figure has not since been changed.

The article as a whole gives a somewhat misleading impression of the Russian worker's position. As I understand it, the influence of factory committees has considerably decreased during the past two years and the direction of industry has been definitely centralized. The activities of the trade unions have likewise been limited, while the elimination from the political arena of Tomsy, former chairman of the Trade Union Congress, has resulted in some estrangement between trade unions and the government.

VERA MICHELES DEAN.

Foreign Policy Association, New York City.

* * *

THE BUSINESS DEPRESSION

To the Editor of Current History:

The present business depression is being used by employers to exploit labor, to decrease wages and extend the working day. The situation is complicated by the presence of many men without dependents who are ready to work for lower wages and also by the numerous immigrants who have not yet adopted the high living standards of the countries of North America. The situation re-emphasizes the need for protective labor legislation.

ESTHER ROSENSTAND.

Montreal, Canada.

* * *

AN IRISH PROTEST

To the Editor of Current History:

In the article by P. W. Wilson entitled "Forgeries That Have Made History," which appears in the November issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*, he refers to "a 'British Secret Document' submitted to the Senate by that redoubtable propagandist, William B. Shearer," and states:

"The real author of this effusion was Dr. William Malony, a well-known specialist in nerve disorders. According to *The London Nation*, being then under suspicion from John Devoy and the Gaelic-American group as an agent of the British Government, he threw off his quib, which was published in 1919 by the Friends of Irish Freedom." The assertion by the *London Nation* is not a fact; the document referred to was not published by the Friends of Irish Freedom.

DIARMUID LYNCH,

National Secretary, Friends of Irish Freedom.
New York, N. Y.

* * *

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

To the Editor of Current History:

In his analysis of "The Blunders that Outlawed the Liquor Traffic," Francis M. Cockrell in *CURRENT HISTORY*

for November goes back no further than 1850, and leaves his readers to infer that that year marked the beginning of serious efforts for the suppression of the liquor traffic. But the early Colonists in Massachusetts well understood the evils that were sure to follow in the wake of that traffic, and as early as 1646 enacted laws for its restriction and control by Colonial legislation. Other Colonies followed the example of Massachusetts, most of them with far greater restrictions.

The State and Territorial laws enacted between 1850 and 1860 were the culmination of more than 125 years of agitation and practical experience in attempting to control the traffic in intoxicating liquors—to control but not to destroy. It is also true, but not plainly stated by Mr. Cockrell, that all the restrictive and prohibition laws enacted before 1860 were merely State laws with the exception of the prohibitory laws adopted in the Territories of Minnesota and Nebraska by large majorities of the voters. The first State law prohibiting the traffic in intoxicating liquors was enacted in Maine in 1846 by a vote of 81 to 42 in the House and 23 to 5 in the Senate. As this law proved to be defective in some important respects, a still more radical law was enacted by a two-thirds majority of both houses of the Legislature in 1851.

In the meantime, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court Roger B. Taney handed down a decision in which he said: "If any State deems the traffic in ardent spirits injurious to its citizens, and calculated to produce illness, vice and debauchery, I see nothing in the Constitution of the United States to prevent it from regulating and restraining the traffic, or in prohibiting it altogether if it thinks proper."

St. Johns, Washington.

J. W. LOCKHART.

THE DEATH PENALTY

To the Editor of Current History:

Warden Lawes's statements and figures in December CURRENT HISTORY to support his attitude against capital punishment are well known, but he makes the common mistake of those who argue against the death penalty by trying to place on capital punishment an onus that belongs squarely to lax law enforcement. If, as he says, Boston in 1928 and 1929 had fifty murders with only two first degree convictions and one execution, the blame is clearly upon lax law enforcement, not on capital punishment.

The trouble today is that the noose or electric chair is not the vivid imminent risk to the criminal that it must be, and was intended to be, to act as a deterrent. Too many lawyers today strive not for justice for their clients but to find loopholes regardless of guilt. Juries and courts fall in line, so that the extreme penalty, instead of being a near certainty, is a dim, distant possibility after all twists, delays and appeals have been exhausted.

It is no indictment of capital punishment to record that murders in California were greater in 1929 than in 1928. It is an indictment of notoriously lax law enforcement. Of course, there are hardened criminals whom no penalty would deter from committing homicide, but there are many other types who would be deterred if they knew that justice moved swiftly on well-oiled tracks. England has proved it. The combination of efficient police, quick trial and sure penalty has given her an enviable freedom from crime. From the moment of arrest her murderers feel the shadow of the noose. For our murderers the chief worry seems to be to get the right lawyer and find a way to meet his fee.

P. H. PARKE.

Los Angeles, California.

TARIFF LAWS IN AMERICA.

To the Editor of Current History:

William Macdonald in the article "Tariff Laws in American History" in the September issue says: "The Republican party, which made its first appearance in

national politics in the election of 1856, championed protection at the outset as one of its leading tenets." Doubtless, Mr. Macdonald means to say "at the outset of its control of national affairs." The new Republican party did not introduce a tariff plank into its platform of 1856, and in some sections at least the slogan of its leaders was "Free trade, free land, free men, Fremont." There was a mild protectionist plank in its platform of 1860, although, of course, the tariff issue cut but a minor figure in that campaign.

Twin Falls, Idaho.

JAMES D. WHELAN.

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

To the Editor of Current History:

James T. Gerould in his discussion of "International Events" in November CURRENT HISTORY reviews the complicated economic and political state of affairs in Europe, and makes the statement that "economic distress is both a cause and a result of nationalistic excesses." In some cases it is certainly a cause, but if we accept Mr. Gerould's emphatic statement, one question naturally suggests itself—where are the "nationalistic excesses" which have caused the economic depression in this country?

Mr. Gerould continues: "The new boundaries have brought ruin to many prosperous districts." A case in point is Danzig. Does Mr. Gerould realize that this particular city which he quotes in support of his contention, has never been as prosperous as it is today? Its trade which in the year 1912 amounted to 1,311,757 tons, rose in 1929, "after the established trade routes had been dislocated," to 6,766,699 tons.

According to Mr. Gerould new boundaries seem to be responsible for all the ills which have of late befallen Europe. "Millions of people are undernourished and they are the innocent victims of the artificial system of production" which, of course, results from the "new boundaries." It is immaterial to him that France, which has new boundaries, is today the most prosperous country in Europe. Poland, which has them too, is, according to Charles S. Dewey, forging ahead.

Mr. Gerould states that Pilsudski's prestige in Poland seems to be waning. Yet in the elections to the Senate where two years ago his party had forty-six members, it has today seventy-six out of a possible total of 111. (I am purposely refraining from quoting Pilsudski's victory in the election to the Sejm, because charges were made in the press that the Sejm elections were unduly influenced by the government, though it is difficult to see how these charges can be maintained in view of the fact that Pilsudski's most violent opponents, the National Democrats, also emerged victorious from the election.)

Mr. Gerould says that "the small Baltic States require a far greater number of officials than did the same territory before the war." Not long ago, in 1925 I believe, the Estonian Government issued a set of statistics which proved beyond doubt that the total expenditure of the Estonian Republic, including the cost of the foreign service and national defense, is approximately 20 per cent lower than the corresponding amount spent by Russia on the administration of the same territory.

H. W. DE VISSER.

Chey Chase, D. C.

WORLD FINANCE

A Month's Survey

By BERNHARD OSTROLENK

Editorial Board, *The Annalist*

THE flow of gold throughout the world continues to be of interest to the central banks. Important conferences have been held between New York and London, and between Paris and London; cross-visits of representatives of important central banks have taken place during the month; and it is known that discussion on methods of adjusting gold holdings to lift the depression have gone beyond the stage of academic interest. The visits of George L. Harrison, governor of the New York Federal Reserve Bank, to the Reichsbank, the Bank of France and the Bank of England have had a bearing on the gold situation. While in London Mr. Harrison had conferences with J. P. Morgan, Owen D. Young and Montagu Norman, governor of the Bank of England. A conference in Washington is reported to have taken place promptly after Mr. Harrison's return from Europe, at which Owen D. Young and Eugene Meyer Jr., governor of the Federal Reserve Board, were present. The November Federal Reserve Bulletin devotes the leading portion of the *Review of the Month* to the gold situation and gold movements.

The total monetary gold stocks in the United States increased again during November in consequence of shipments, largely from South American nations, the countries least able to spare gold at this time. Gold stocks in the United States on Dec. 3 totaled \$4,572,000,000, as against \$4,530,000,000 a month earlier, an amount \$203,000,000 larger than gold holdings a year ago.

France, another principal taker of gold since the Spring of 1927, again increased its gold holdings, which on Nov. 29 stood at 51,966,000 francs, an increase of 1,059,000 francs for the month and of 11,158,000 francs for the year. France continuously added to her gold holdings after the New York stock market crash in October, 1929, interrupted only by a brief period during the early Summer, when some gold went to England and Germany. The decision of the Bank of England to avail itself of the legal right to pay out gold of lesser fineness forced French purchasers late in the Fall to pay the cost of refining it, and, together with the firmer money rates, for a short time checked gold takings from England. The flow to France has since been resumed.

In the United States one of the most important business developments during November was the continued decline in all business indices except automobile production.

A sharp decline in pig iron production, completing an unbroken string of monthly decreases since May, emphasized the depth of the depression and drew attention to the distance still necessary to go to reach the turning point. November pig iron production showed a daily rate smaller than any since July, 1924. During the last week of November plants operated at barely 40 per cent capacity, and during the first week in December production went below 40 per cent. The daily output during November was 10.9 per cent below October and 41.5 per cent below November, 1929. Moreover, little forward buying had developed by the end of November to justify hopes that activity would receive some impetus during the months following. Awards of 21,000 tons of structural steel during the last week of November were the smallest since September.

Electric power production dropped 3.5 per cent during November, touching new lows for the year. Weekly freight car loadings for Nov. 22 ended at 779,757, a decline of 10 per cent from the last week in October, and were 16 per cent below freight car loadings during the corresponding week of 1929. The average daily value of construction contracts awarded in November, adjusted for seasonal variations, was the lowest yet recorded in the present business depression. The November daily average was \$11,670,000, against \$13,151,000 in October and \$16,510,000 in November, 1929.

The most discouraging feature in connection with the depression has been the continued drop of commodity prices. The average November index of wholesale commodity prices was 2.4 per cent below October, the sharpest decline in one month since May, 1930, bringing the index to the lowest point since January, 1916. These declines, furthermore, occurred in spite of artificial support which various commodities received during the month. For example, wheat prices were maintained at a level unjustified by the world market through the continued buying of the Federal Farm Board; copper was maintained at 12 cents by an agreement of producers which was looked

upon by many as precarious and which created a vacuum in which practically no copper was being sold. Similar stabilization schemes in tin, zinc and sugar (see articles on Mexico and Central America) established further artificial price levels.

The announced increase in steel prices of \$1 a ton on bars, shapes and plates for first-quarter orders was an attempt to lift prices in order to make existing low rates of steel production profitable. In the past such increases have frequently further curtailed orders, with consequent riotous price cutting. The practical effectiveness of this step will not become apparent until well into January and February. The rise in the price of steel was attacked in the Senate on Dec. 4 as a suspicious move, coming as it did immediately after President Hoover's speech calling for the maintenance and increase of construction work. Similar action by cotton goods producers merely meant holding an umbrella over the weaker organizations which sold just under the fixed prices until producers as a whole abandoned price stabilization, and price slashing started in earnest.

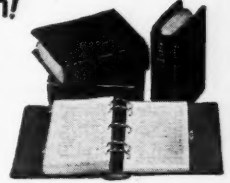
Stocks on the New York Stock Exchange touched a new low during the first week in November, but moved up hectically during the month. The first week in December was characterized by dull trading, with the average of all stocks showing a sagging or sidewise tendency.

Short-term interest rates in the New York money market at the end of November were the lowest in the history of this country since the return to the gold standard in 1879. Call money renewals averaged 2.07 per cent during November, acceptances 1.88 per cent and bankers' bills 2.22 per cent. High-grade bonds yielded an average of 4.23 per cent. In face of such low rates prominent economists continued to argue for increased purchases of government securities by the Federal Reserve banks in order to increase still further the amount of credit and to reduce still further the interest rates. Up to the end of October the Federal Reserve Board reported 740 bank suspensions, and about 160 more were reported in newspapers during November. The previous record of bank suspensions was 956, in 1926. It is probable that the low rate of interest, reducing the earning power of the banks, was an important factor at least in the more recent suspensions of the larger banks. The closing of the Bank of United States in New York City was announced on Dec. 11. Its affairs were taken over by the State Banking Department, while other banks in the city took steps to relieve the depositors.

The one exception to this depressing picture was the increased automobile production during November, an increase which was more

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than seasonal. November automobile production was 53 per cent greater than in October, although still 12 per cent lower than in November, 1929.

WORLD WHEAT

The re-entrance of the Federal Farm Board into the wheat market to stabilize wheat prices came after several months of inactivity and after announcements by members of the board that no attempt to stabilize prices would be made. (See article on page 592.) The immediate factors that brought the Farm Board into the market were, briefly, these: On Monday, Nov. 10, one of the largest bear markets that had occurred in wheat for years broke prices to the lowest point since October, 1902. December contracts closed that day on the Board of Trade at 69 cents a bushel. The Winnipeg market was closed because of a holiday. On Tuesday, Nov. 11, the Chicago Board of Trade was closed because of Armistice Day, but the Winnipeg market declined, in sympathy with Chicago prices, to 65 cents. From the next day on wheat prices in all world markets continued to decline, while prices on the Board of Trade rose steadily to about 76 cents, where they were maintained. Winnipeg prices, representative of world markets, declined to 55 cents a bushel, but at the end of November advanced again to 58 cents, while the Chicago price was 76 cents. This made a differential of about 18 cents in favor of Chicago, when the usual differential is about 6 cents.

The immediate causes for the drop in prices were the reports of excellent prospects for the Argentine crop and the congestion of European ports with Russian wheat. Russia has thus far exported about 40,000,000 bushels; it was now reported that an additional 70,000,000 bushels were available. Total Russian exports in 1929 were about 40,000,000 bushels, and no Russian exports had appeared in Europe since the World War. Before the war Russian exports had averaged about 100,000,000 bushels annually.

The drop in wheat prices throughout the world precipitated a financial crisis in Canada. Over 50 per cent of the Canadian wheat is being sold by a group of cooperatives known as the Canadian Wheat Pool. The pool had received wheat from farmers and, pending sale, had borrowed from banks on a 60-cent-per-bushel basis. This money it had used partially to pay the farmers. When prices dropped banks became nervous about their loans and demanded additional covering, which the pool was unable to supply. At this juncture negotiations were begun with the government, which finally guaranteed the bank loans of the pool.

In the meantime prices had dropped sharply, not only because of the statistical position of wheat as indicated by Russian exports and the

probable Argentine crop but because during this time there was every possibility that large amounts of Canadian wheat might be dumped on the market should the banks fail to support the holdings of the pool. It was in this crisis that the Federal Farm Board stepped into the United States wheat market.

POLAND

Information made available for the third quarter of 1930 shows that there have been further declines in production in Poland, iron mines and foundries reaching new lows. Coal sales, domestic and foreign, increased 25 per cent over the preceding quarter, but still were 20 per cent below the corresponding quarter of 1929. The domestic increase was seasonal, but the increase of exports in the face of the mounting competition was looked upon as a constructive feature. Employment in the iron and steel trade reached the lowest levels in several years. Production in pig iron ran 42 per cent below production during the corresponding period of 1929, production of pipes was 27 per cent lower, steel mill output dropped 7 per cent and rolling mills 10.8 per cent.

These decreases in production, made in spite of the increase in exports, were the consequence of large Russian orders. Exports were reported 216 per cent greater than during the corresponding period of 1929. There was an increase in zinc production in anticipation of export demand and domestic building construction. Building construction experienced a heavy slump fully 70 per cent below 1929.

Cotton spinning, in contrast with other depressed industries, is flourishing. Stocks of yarns have practically disappeared, and the Spinners' Association has adopted rulings permitting its members to operate a second shift of twelve hours a week.

Another constructive feature of the Polish situation is the fact that the government has maintained for six years a balanced budget. Beginning with 1924, budgetary income has exceeded expenditures. The high rate of expenditures immediately after the war was scaled down and income was increased from 1,588,600,000 zlotys in 1924 to 3,030,000,000 zlotys in 1929. The budget for 1930 estimated the income at below the actual income in 1929 and expenditures at less than 1929 expenditures.

The Polish treasury paid 21,257,595 zlotys during September, 1930, toward its foreign debts and, in addition, 534,720 zlotys toward amortization of the Italian debt, 2,651,890 zlotys to France and 183,327 zlotys as a guarantee to suburban electric railroad companies.

Out of a total capitalization of Polish industrial and banking corporations of 3,448,628,000 zlotys, foreign capital totaled 1,285,641,000 zlotys at the beginning of 1930, or 37.3 per cent. The bulk of the foreign capital is invested in electric power plants.